

## U.K. Woman Held, Art in Irish Theft Found Undamaged

DUBLIN, May 5 (AP)—Irish police are expected to charge Bridget Rose Dugdale, a former debutante turned self-styled freedom fighter, in the theft of 19 paintings worth about \$20 million.

Police arrested Miss Dugdale last night at a rented country cottage near the coastal village of Glendore in southwest Ireland. Also at the cottage, they recovered all the paintings looted April 26 from the mansion near Dublin of Sir Alfred Beit, a London-born gold and diamond magnate, Miss Dugdale, 33, a Briton, and the daughter of a millionaire insurance executive, was held today in Bridewell, Dublin's main police station. A police spokesman said she would probably face charges in court tomorrow morning.



Bridget Rose Dugdale

## Pravda Sees Anti-Détente Plot in West

By Christopher S. Wren  
MOSCOW, May 5 (NYT)—A leading Soviet commentator has charged that a "well-orchestrated campaign" was being waged in the West against better relations with the Soviet Union, in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The assertion, which was made Friday by Yuri Zhukov in the Communist party newspaper Pravda, generally followed the line increasingly taken by the Soviet press that Moscow has been struggling to relax international tensions in the face of stiffening resistance from various Western opponents.

However, some Western diplomats here sensed that the argument has been sharpened by the implication in Mr. Zhukov's piece that a sinister conspiracy was under way to sabotage reconciliation between the Soviet Union and the West, particularly the United States.

The diplomats suggested that Moscow might be trying to prepare further justification for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and for any backlash caused by Soviet intransigence on the issue of human contacts currently being negotiated at the European security talks in Geneva.

**Fixing the Blame**  
The Soviet Union, they point out, could blame a Western reactionary plot for lack of progress created by the issue and for the consequent skepticism in the West over the Soviet desire for accommodation.

Mr. Zhukov, who is considered one of the most authoritative Soviet commentators, observed that, "looking through foreign newspapers, you quite obviously see what a dirty coalition of reactionary forces is assembled in the struggle against détente."

He catalogued a familiar list of enemies attacked by the Soviet press, including "the American military-industrial complex, West German revenge-seekers, NATO generals, Zionists and adventures of all hues and shades."

The paintings—including a Vermeer, a Goya, a Frans Hals and three Rubens—were held at the Dublin Police Technical Bureau. Police Superintendent Anthony Mahon said they were all in good shape, with only some small scratches in the varnish on one or two.

**Search Is Continuing**  
The recovery of the paintings and the arrest occurred after one of the biggest manhunt in Irish history. The search is continuing, primarily in County Cork, for four men believed to be accomplices in the art theft, the biggest in modern Irish history.

Credit for the discovery went to two local policemen, Sgt. Pat O'Leary and Constable William Creedon. Superior officers said the two men "became suspicious" of the cottage after learning it had been rented from a local farmer two days before the art robbery.

They called in County Cork police to arrest a woman, later identified as Miss Dugdale, when she returned to the cottage. Three paintings were found in the cottage and the rest in the trunk of an automobile.

Miss Dugdale, a doctor of philosophy and a former lecturer at London University, was tried and convicted at Exeter, England, last autumn for burglarizing her father's East Devon home of art worth \$182,000.

**Suspended Sentence**  
She got a two-year suspended sentence and declared she would continue her work as an unpaid civil-rights activist among the poor of London. She gave \$20,000 (about \$48,200) to needy families.

In February, Manchester magistrates issued a warrant for Miss Dugdale's arrest in connection with offenses involving explosives and firearms. Police in Devon and Cornwall also issued warrants alleging she smuggled arms and explosives from Britain into Ireland.

Police believed she had gone underground in Ireland and launched a widespread search for her. She was also wanted for questioning in connection with a helicopter bomb attack in January on a police barracks in the Northern Ireland border town of Strabane. Guerrillas believed to be members of the outlawed Irish Republican Army hijacked the helicopter.

**36 More Rounded Up  
As Reds in Greece**  
ATHENS, May 5 (AP)—The Greek government announced yesterday the arrest of 35 young men and three women and accused them of being members of Communist organizations. A communiqué said that 14 other persons were being sought. Most of those arrested are students.

Police said that they raided several apartments around Athens and confiscated tape recorders, printing machines, leftist handbills and arms of various types. The Communist party was outlawed in 1947. Earlier this year authorities arrested 44 persons for allegedly belonging to Communist organizations and plotting to overthrow the regime.

## Fear of Anarchy Grows

## Portugal Junta Warns of 'Mini-Revolution'

By Henry Giniger  
LISBON, May 5 (NYT)—The military junta warned yesterday against "mini-revolutions" as it struggled against an increasing trend toward economic and political anarchy.

The coup by the armed forces against a dictatorship entrenched for almost half a century has led to a breakdown of authority in all sectors. Both the junta and the business community are showing signs of alarm at the prospect of losing political and economic control.

The state television network has issued repeated warnings against people taking things into their own hands and, yesterday, a spokesman for the junta called on the Portuguese to go to work and said that "mini-revolutions" could hinder economic development.

The term "mini-revolution" referred to efforts by state workers to throw out bureaucratic chiefs because of their close connections with the old regime. This has happened in five public services: the post office, the railroads, electricity, telephones and the national airline. Fear is widespread among business leaders that this trend could soon extend to the private sector.

A strike has been called for tomorrow by workers in the semipublic steel industry in the first major assertion of labor action in 40 years. The junta, which has named a delegate to the industry, called for "collaboration" and a "dialogue" between workers and management. Asked whether it recognized the right to strike in Portugal, a spokesman said this was a matter for the provisional government, now being formed, to decide.

The junta was faced with a sudden emergency last night when several hundred extreme leftists invaded the Lisbon military airport to oppose the shipment of a group of soldiers to Africa. Shots were fired into the air by paratroopers guarding the base.

According to the leftist version, 10 soldiers refused to embark for Africa and were left behind. According to the junta's version, the 10 were kidnapped.



Valéry Giscard d'Estaing talking with villagers in Chamonat yesterday after casting his ballot there. He has a home in the town, which is near Clermont-Ferrand.

## Kissinger Asks Compromise Offer

## Bigger Pullback Urged on Israelis

By Bernard Gwertzman

AMMAN, May 5 (NYT)—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrived here today after urging Israeli leaders to draw up a new cease-fire line that he can propose to Syria when he returns to Damascus Tuesday in his continuing search for a troop-separation agreement.

Newsmen aboard Mr. Kissinger's jet on the way to Amman from Tel Aviv were told that the secretary's mediation efforts had entered a crucial phase. A senior American official said that, although "a considerable step forward" had been taken in narrowing differences between Israel and Syria, it remained doubtful whether Mr. Kissinger would be able to conclude the disagreement during the next week or 10 days of his Middle East trip.

They left open the strong possibility that it would be left to other officials to further negotiate the problems with Mr. Kissinger probably returning to the area in about three weeks.

## The Next Few Days

The officials stressed, however, that Mr. Kissinger had not given up his efforts to obtain an agreement and that the possibility for one still existed. Much depends, they said, on what happens in the next few days.

Newsmen were also told that despite contrary reports from Israel, Syria had "definitely" decreased its military activity in the Golan Heights in keeping with an apparent understanding made with Mr. Kissinger Friday night in Damascus.

After discussions with Jordan's King Hussein today and tomorrow morning, Mr. Kissinger will return to Israel tomorrow afternoon to receive the new Israeli ideas.

In his meeting with King Hussein tonight, Mr. Kissinger discussed the possibility of talks between Jordan and Israel on disengagement on the West Bank of the Jordan River and future U.S. economic and military aid, American officials said.

The talks in Israel concentrated on where to draw the demarcation line between Israeli and Syrian forces in the Golan Heights. The Israelis, who had proposed previously to return most of the land taken in the

October war, were urged by Mr. Kissinger to make a compromise offer to include more territory in their latest proposal—including some land in the sector seized in the 1967 war, of which the town of Kuneitra is part.

The Syrians, who have agreed to talk about where the disengagement line should be placed when Mr. Kissinger returns to Damascus, had originally asked for a sizable portion of 1967 Golan Heights territory, in addition to all the land taken in October.

Officially, Americans aboard Mr. Kissinger's jet said they did not want to comment on the discussion.

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## 13 1/2-Minute Gap in Nixon Talk

## Sirica's Tape Experts Said To Confirm Stand on Erasure

By George Lardner Jr.

WASHINGTON, May 5 (AP)—Technical experts gave U.S. District Judge John Sirica yesterday their proposed final report on the 13 1/2-minute gap in one of President Nixon's key Watergate tapes.

The report, according to informed sources, virtually rules out the possibility that the erasures were accidental. Judge Sirica ordered the lengthy study kept under seal and said that he would make a decision in 10 days on its "final disposition."

The experts originally concluded in January that the obliteration of the 13 1/2-minute segment of the tape was the result of at least five separate erasures, all done manually, and could not

• White House document accuses Dean, Page 3.

have been caused by the foot pedal which Mr. Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods, said she used.

Additional tests reportedly have strengthened those conclusions. Despite its scientific reserve, the new report indicates more strongly than before that the erasures were deliberate, a source told The Washington Post.

**Those Attending**  
White House lawyers, Watergate prosecutors and the attorney for Miss Woods, Charles Rhyne, attended yesterday's closed session with Judge Sirica and were given copies of the experts' final draft for study. The judge said that they would be free to communicate with the experts about the findings.

The erasures wiped out a substantial Watergate discussion by Mr. Nixon and H. R. Haldeman then the White House chief of staff. The discussion took place on June 30, 1973, three days after the discovery of the break-in and bugging at the Democratic National Committee's headquarters in the Watergate building complex. Mr. Haldeman's notes indicate that they talked of a "PR (public relations) offensive to top this" and agreed that "we should be on the attack for diversion."

The six-man panel of experts was jointly selected by the White House and Watergate prosecutors and appointed by Judge Sirica last fall. After the experts delivered their explosive report on the 18 1/2-minute gap in January, the White House sharply contested it and hired another expert to make a fresh study. At the same time, the six-member panel was asked to back up its findings.

The White House consultant, Michael Hecker of the Stanford Research Institute in Menlo Park, Calif., is reportedly inclined to agree with the basic conclusions of the court-appointed panel. But he has indicated that he wants to study the panel's final report with its supporting data before making any definite findings of his own.

Spokesmen for the Stanford Research Institute have said that

the Hecker report will also be turned over to Judge Sirica.

The six-member technical panel is also studying gaps and suspected discrepancies in several other of the President's subpoenaed recordings, but these studies have not yet been completed.

Judge Sirica concluded his tapes hearings in January with a call for a grand jury investigation of "the possibility of unlawful destruction of evidence and related offenses." He could turn over the experts' final report to the grand jury or he could make it public.

**Some Administration Officials**  
Some administration officials that favor the plan said a domestic opium crop is needed

to ease the shortage that has ensued since Turkey's ban, Critics believed, however, that the shortage has been exaggerated, and they fear that domestic production of opium would lead to illicit drug traffic.

They also contend domestic production is sought by the pharmaceutical companies solely to reduce the price of opium.

**Series of Meetings**  
Officials of the pharmaceutical companies are scheduled to meet with federal officials at the White House this week, the latest in a series of meetings on the subject.

The plan would not be implemented until the new Turkish government made a final decision on whether to continue the ban. During last fall's elections in Turkey, Bulent Ecevit, leader of the victorious Republican People's party, pledged to end the ban.

## Chaban a Poor Third Mitterrand vs. Giscard In French Runoff Vote

By Jonathan C. Randal

PARIS, May 5 (AP)—Socialist leader François Mitterrand rolled up an expected lead today in the first round of the French presidential race, which ended 16 years of uninterrupted Gaullist rule.

But Mr. Mitterrand—who also is backed by the powerful Communist party—faced an unexpectedly uphill fight against Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in what promises to be a close runoff election two weeks hence.

As accurately predicted by French public opinion polls, the Gaullist candidate, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, trailed badly.

But Mr. Mitterrand ran several potentially vital percentage points behind his showing in the most recent polls. They had given him 45 percent of the first-round total—enough when combined with votes of the extreme left and dissident Gaullists to create a hoped-for bandwagon effect that would carry the 57-year-old Socialist to power.

With more than 83 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Mitterrand had 42.9 percent, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, 32.9 percent, and Mr. Chaban-Delmas, 14.9 percent. The turnout was estimated at 84.99 percent, which would be a near record, exceeded only by the 85.02 percent in the first round of the 1965 presidential election, the first to be conducted under universal suffrage.

Although the electorate's desire for change and an end of Gaullist rule was the only clear lesson of the first-round vote, the Gaullists still wield the decisive votes in the runoff.

## Chaban Statement

Significantly, Mr. Chaban-Delmas, in conceding defeat, did not mention Mr. Giscard d'Estaing by name or ask his backers to vote for the finance minister. Rather, he pledged his "absolute opposition" to Mr. Mitterrand's Communist-backed candidacy.

But, within minutes of Mr. Chaban-Delmas's statement, other major backers of his campaign—such as Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, Equipment Minister Olivier Guichard and party leader Alexandre Sanguinetti—pledged to give Mr. Giscard d'Estaing solid support.

Mr. Messmer said in a nationwide television broadcast, "I am throwing all my weight into the battle" behind Mr. Giscard d'Estaing.

"The time has come to sink our differences and put up a barrier to the candidate standing for a dangerous program and who is an ally of the Communists."

"The second round will be of exceptional importance. Each Frenchman will choose the future of France and his own as well. Our living standards, our progress and freedoms will be at stake. Don't gamble with the freedoms at stake."

## 'Profound Change'

Speaking from his mayor's office in the town of Chamalières in central France, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing said the vote showed France "wanted profound change." But he said the voters must decide between "the change without risk I propose" and "change with adventure" involving Communist ministers in government, undermining the foundations of France's foreign policy and endangering the economy.

He renewed his appeal to voters ranging from the Gaullists to centrists and those on the left who reject the controversial common program backed by Socialists, Communists and breakaway centrists in 1972.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing declared

that "a new majority was born today," which he described as including the Gaullist UDR, his own Independent Republicans, the Centrist opposition, and the leftist voters who oppose the common Socialist-Communist program.

Throughout the campaign Mr. Mitterrand has played down his basic platform, which calls for the nationalization of nine large firms and the take-over of those banks and insurance companies not nationalized right after World War II.

## The Vote by Percentages

Mitterrand .....	42.9 %
Giscard d'Estaing .....	32.9 %
Chaban-Delmas .....	14.9 %
All others .....	9.3 %

Figures as given by the French Ministry of the Interior with more than five-sixths of the votes counted.



François Mitterrand voting in his home town of Chateau-Chinon yesterday in first round presidential election.

## Clerics, Laymen Warned Italian Bishops Crack Down On Dissent on Divorce Issue

By Paul Hofmann

ROME, May 5 (NYT)—The protest movement within the Roman Catholic clergy and laity against the church's stand on divorce is spreading, but the hierarchy seems determined to crack down on dissidents.

Albino Cardinal Luciani, the patriarch of Venice, has sent individual letters to more than 20 of his priests, warning them that their participation in pro-divorce rallies and their advocacy of divorce in public debates were causing "confusion and confusion" in his diocese and threatening to forbid them to say mass if they insisted in their attitudes.

The bishop of Sabina and Poggio Mirteto, the Most Rev. Marco Callaro, threatened canonical

penalties against a priest, the Rev. Luigi Sandri, who had given speeches defying divorce in the diocese north of Rome.

The priest is a collaborator and friend of a former Benedictine abbot, the Right Rev. Giovanni Franzoni, who was ousted from his order and suspended from his clerical functions after he had crusaded for a Catholic's right to vote for divorce in a national referendum next Sunday and Monday.

## Support for Abbot

Several groups of liberal and leftist Catholics have come out in support of the former abbot. A movement of dissident priests and lay people publicly urged him to appeal to Pope Paul VI for a "fair trial." More than 200 priests signed a statement endorsing Father Franzoni's stand on divorce.

In Mantua, a bulwark of church power in northern Italy, a large part of the congregation silently walked out during mass recently when a pastoral letter by the local bishop urging Catholics to vote against divorce was read from the pulpit. Significantly, the parish priest, the Rev. Giuseppe Ferrari, did not make known his bishop's document himself but asked a layman to do the reading.

Similar episodes are reported from other churches up and down Italy. Many pastors, sensing the critical mood of parishioners, are ignoring the divorce issue in their sermons. In Genoa, pro-divorce leaflets issued by a group calling itself "Democratic Catholics" were distributed outside churches, causing a public protest from the office of Giuseppe Cardinal Siri, the city's archbishop, who is a conservative.

According to reliable information from many parts of the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## For Medical Purposes

## U.S. Is Considering Proposal to Grow Opium

By Martin Tolchin

WASHINGTON, May 5 (NYT)—The Nixon administration, which in 1971 persuaded the Turkish government to ban the planting of opium poppies in a campaign against narcotics addiction, is considering a plan to grow opium in the United States.

A tentative White House plan calls for growing 400 acres of opium poppies on an experimental basis, equally divided between two locations, near Walla Walla, Wash., and Phoenix, Ariz. The poppies would be grown inside military-style installations and would yield 160 tons, slightly more than half the annual medical consumption in the United States, which was 300 tons last year.

Some administration officials that favor the plan said a domestic opium crop is needed



Command Structure Criticized

U.S. Fears Weak Air Link in NATO

By John W. Finney

WASHINGTON, May 5 (NYT).—Defense Department and Air Force officials are convinced that the Western alliance has established air superiority over the Warsaw Pact nations, but they are increasingly concerned over a weak command link connecting allied air forces on the northern and southern flanks in West Germany.

Strengthening the link has become a principal objective of Defense Secretary James Schlesinger as he tries to persuade the European allies to get over what he describes as their "inferiority complex" about their conventional military strength.

Mr. Schlesinger has told European military leaders and Pentagon associates that the alliance could take to improve its conventional strength would be to unify command and procedures among

allied air units in West Germany. Such a step, he believes, could save billions of dollars and greatly enhance the air power of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

2 Commands

There are two principal allied air commands in West Germany. One is the Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force on the southern flank, commanded by an American and composed of American, West German and Canadian units. The other on the northern flank is the smaller Second Allied Tactical Air Force, commanded by a British and composed of British, Dutch, Belgian and West German units.

In principle, both forces are responsible to a German general commanding Allied Forces Central Europe. But in practice they have developed different operating procedures to the point that, according to American officials, it would be difficult in time of war for them to operate together.

The same objection was raised by West German pilots in recent interviews. They said they encountered operational difficulties in shifting from the American-led Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force to the British-commanded Second.

The differing operating procedures spring from contrasting American and British concepts of tactical air power.

The American concept calls for close control over fighter-bomber planes so that they can be diverted from arranged targets to direct support of ground troops.

The British believe such tight control is impractical. But American officials suspect the British take this stance partly because they are unwilling to invest heavily in radar and communications equipment. The British concept is that in time of war the planes would be turned loose to attack the rear areas of the attacking forces, with little or no emphasis on close support of allied ground troops.

Overall Result

The overall result, according to American officials, is that in case of an attack on the northern front it would be tactically and operationally difficult to shift planes from the southern flank to assist on the battlefield.

A compromise proposal advanced by U.S. Air Force generals is the establishment of a new headquarters over the two tactical air forces to work out common tactics and procedures. This proposal is not completely acceptable to the British because the United States, with its larger contribution in air power, insists that the new headquarters be commanded by an American.

Mr. Schlesinger is expected to press for resolution of the command issue when the NATO defense ministers gather in Bergen, Norway, in June for their semiannual meeting. Despite the concern over the weak command link, West German and American officials are sounding a new note of confidence in their belief that the NATO forces have developed air superiority on the central front.

Iraq Shells 2 Villages In Turkey by Accident

ANKARA, May 5 (Reuters).—Iraqi forces yesterday for the second time this week accidentally shelled two Turkish border villages in an attack on Kurdish rebels in neighboring northwest Iraq, a local Turkish official said.

He said that shelling hit the villages of Kapili and Gorum, but there were no casualties because they were evacuated after a similar incident last Monday. Three persons were killed and four wounded in Kapili in Monday's incident. About 15 villages in the area have since been evacuated.

As U.S.-Egypt Ties Improve, Libya Moves Toward Russia

By Juan de Onis

BEIRUT, May 5 (NYT).—As Egypt has moved toward friendly relations with the United States, Libya is apparently seeking closer ties with the Soviet Union in their joint opposition to President Anwar Sadat of Egypt.

Col. Muammar Qadhafi, the leader of Libya's Revolutionary Command Council, has announced that the premier, Mr. Abdel Salam Jalloud, is going to Moscow for an official visit May 14.

This appeared to signal an important change in attitude by Libya toward relations with Communist governments. In the past, Col. Qadhafi, a military leader, has been highly critical of Soviet influence in the Arab world and he often criticized Egypt for depending on Soviet arms.

Now it seems that Libya is ready to join the Soviet Union in a common cause against the Egyptian policy of relying heavily on the United States for economic and even military support while seeking a political settlement with Israel.

As Sair, a Libyan-language newspaper here, has become a vehicle for Soviet attacks on the Egyptian government as well as for Libya's attacks on President Sadat and his pro-American advisers.

Egypt has accused Libya of being behind an abortive attempt by a small radical group to



Cambodian soldier carrying grenade launcher gives orders to his men as they move up on Khmer Rouge position in the village of Krus, 11 miles north of Phnom Penh.

While Rebuilding in North Hanoi Strategy Seen to Bar Dramatic Moves in Indochina

By James M. Markham

SAIGON, May 5 (NYT).—At a time when major emphasis is being placed on postwar reconstruction in North Vietnam, the Vietnamese Communists appear to be following a strategy in the rest of Indochina that assumes time is on their side.

Diplomats and officials in the three other nations of Indochina—Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam—are in general agreement that the North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong allies are unlikely to make any dramatic initiatives in the near future.

In Cambodia, where the civil war is entering its fifth year, the Vietnamese Communists play only a supporting role behind the local insurgents, according to Western analysts.

"They're still helping them fire their captured 105-mm. guns, and even some of their rockets and mortars," a diplomat said. But he said that the advisers were now "mostly Viet Cong, not North Vietnamese."

There are 20,000 to 25,000 North

Thai Kidnappers Ask \$500,000 for 2 Foreign Nurses

BANGKOK, May 5 (UPI).—Moslem separatists in southern Thailand are asking a ransom of \$500,000 for the safe return of two foreign missionary nurses they abducted more than a week ago. Thai authorities said.

A ransom note, they said, also contained a demand that Israel cease its "aggression" against Palestinians and Arab states.

The demands were received by the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. The two OMF nurses, Margaret Morgan, 38, of Britain, and Milinka Hanskamp, 40, a Dutch-born naturalized New Zealander, were kidnapped by gunmen while treating villagers near the provincial capital of Pattani, about 300 miles south of Bangkok.

An OMF spokesman in Bangkok said the two nurses have written to their families saying they are receiving good treatment.

An OMF official in Pattani, Ten Murray, was quoted in Bangkok newspapers as saying the mission would not pay the ransom.

"If we pay," he was quoted as saying, "we will just be encouraging them, and there will be more incidents."

Russians Test Tu-144

MOSCOW, May 5 (UPI).—Soviet leaders reported a test flight of a Tu-144, the first in a series of flights, after the supersonic jetliner is back in the air after one of the craft crashed at the Paris air show last June.

Laotian Coalition Faces Test On Issue of Foreign Troops

By James F. Clarity

VIENTIANE, Laos, May 5 (NYT).—The sensitive issue of foreign troops on Laotian soil is emerging as a major problem for the three-week-old coalition government here.

Under the terms of the agreement that created the new government from factions of rightists, neutralists and the Communist-led Pathet Lao, all foreign troops illegally stationed in Laos are to leave by June 4.

The neutralist premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, has said repeatedly that the departure must take place.

One of the ranking Pathet Lao leaders, Foreign Minister Phommavith, has expressed doubt that American military advisers will leave when they are supposed to.

Rightist and neutralist leaders in the government said privately that they leave.

As the North Vietnamese have never acknowledged stationing any troops in this country, the diplomats said, their former wartime ally, the Pathet Lao, is not likely to press the issue. If the neutralist and rightist members of the new government, and the political council that is supposed to work with it, insist on publishing the issue, the entire new political order here could be threatened with collapse.



Associated Press.

Saigon Says Shells Kill 6 Children

SAIGON, May 5 (AP).—The Saigon command accused the Viet Cong today of shelling a second Mekong Delta elementary school in as many months, killing six children and wounding 11.

The command said Viet Cong gunners made the attack yesterday afternoon against a school in Song Phi Village. The 82-mm mortar attack also wounded seven adult civilians and two government militiamen, the command said.

The village is in Vinh Long Province, about 65 miles southwest of Saigon.

On March 9, a shell exploded in the yard of the Cal Lay Elementary School, 3 miles southwest of Saigon, killing 23 children and wounding 86. Both Saigon and the Viet Cong have accused each other of responsibility for that incident.

The Viet Cong delegation to the two-party Joint Military Commission could not be reached for comment on the latest incident.

In Cambodia, insurgent forces early today overran two government positions near the coast, while in Phnom Penh several hundred former insurgents and war widows demonstrated for back pay and pensions in front of President Lon Nol's residence.

Guards fired into the air to disperse the demonstrators, but they did not leave until Lon Nol promised to give them each 2,000 riels (about \$5), sources said.

Most of the former rebels had come over to the government side in the last two months and were awaiting military training, army sources said.

On the coast, government troops abandoned two positions midway between Kampot and Kompong Som, the deepwater port, military sources said.

The insurgents kept up the shelling of besieged Longvek camp today, forcing government troops to leave the area. The shelling inflicted heavy casualties among 25,000 refugees inside the camp, the Cambodian command said.

"The Longvek situation does not look good; I think it will fall," a European diplomat said.

Bishops Fight Divorce Push

(Continued from Page 1)

country, the divorce controversy is also causing heated debates among priests in diocesan meetings and in rectories.

Implicitly acknowledging the strength of the dissent, the Vatican newspaper L'Osservatore Romano said in a comment on the divorce dispute: "In the church that the situation was 'painful and difficult.'"

Rebel clerics contend that the Italian state's divorce law and the referendum on repeal are secular matters in which the church should not interfere. The dissenting clergymen recall that the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) emphasized the paramount role of individual conscience and say that each Catholic has the right to make his own decision on how to vote in the referendum.

Significantly, however, these dissenting clergymen personally believe that the church's teaching that marriage between Catholics is indissoluble is correct and that they are, therefore, not opposed to church law. They are opposed only to meddling in what they feel is a political issue.

Some Italian bishops are known to be cool toward the anti-divorce drive. However, the Italian Bishops' Conference, in a meeting late in February, by a large majority voted a statement declaring that all Christians had the duty to defend the indissolubility of marriage.

Whitlam Appears Stronger

Australian Campaign Focuses On Leaders' Personalities

SYDNEY, May 5 (NYT).—In Sydney, car stickers proclaim: "I'm Dreading Snedden." In Canberra, somebody changed the sense of a sign reading "Gough's Going Great" by putting a period after the second word.

Politicians campaigning for the election scheduled May 18 have sought to focus attention on the economy, local questions and the personalities of their parties.

The opposition has promised to reduce taxation by the equivalent of \$900 million and cut government spending while bringing inflation under control. The government says a tax cut would only aggravate inflation. It has made no commitment on taxes itself but plans to increase government spending, especially on health and social welfare.

As the campaign gathers momentum, however, public interest seems to be centered more on the personalities of the two main contenders. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and the opposition leader, Billy Snedden, than on political issues.

The election, for both the House of Representatives and the Senate, is being held less than halfway through the three-year term of Mr. Whitlam's Labor government. It was called by the prime minister after the opposition Liberal and Country parties had blocked government legislation in the Senate.

The legislation included measures for a government-controlled health insurance plan for all Australians and a petroleum and minerals authority aimed at concentrating ownership and control of the country's energy and mineral resources in Australian hands. These and other measures have been opposed by the Liberal and Country parties as examples of "creeping socialism."

If Mr. Whitlam is returned to power with about his present majority in the House, he can push through legislation previously rejected by the Senate by holding a joint session of Parliament, which is provided for by the constitution. The Labor party holds 67 of the 125 seats in the House of Representatives and 26 of the 60 Senate seats.

Voters will have to make 15 decisions on election day, choosing one member for the House to represent their district and 10 senators to represent their state, and also answering four referendum questions. Many who find this excessive are expected to vote on strict party lines, following the leader they find most attractive. Discussion of the issues turns inevitably to the character of Mr. Whitlam and Mr. Snedden, even though only residents of their two districts will vote for the two men directly.

Accused of Arrogance

Mr. Whitlam has been accused of being arrogant toward those who disagree with him and patronizing toward the public that supports him. But he is a forceful, vigorous personality that many voters seem to identify with strong leadership.

The prime minister seized the initiative in the early stages of the campaign through the skillful use of his weekly news conferences and appearances on television and radio. While often abrasive, Mr. Whitlam tempers his attacks on the opposition with witty asides that reinforce his political appeal.

Mr. Snedden, a former immigration minister, has a reputation as a "nice bloke" but Liberal party colleagues privately express the wish that he were a little tougher.

Mr. Snedden, who as Liberal leader also heads the alliance of the Liberal and Country parties, has also used other tactics to put forward opposition policies but his plodding presentation has been less effective in the eyes of many commentators than the appearances of Mr. Whitlam.

A 3 percent swing against Labor

Russian Cellist Silent on Plans

MOSCOW, May 5 (Reuters).—Cellist Mstislav Rostropovich Friday refused to discuss reports that he had received permission for a two-year stay in London.

Friends of the musician told Western officials here that top-level permission had been received. He would be joined later by his wife, Galina Vishnevskaya, and their two children.

Asked by telephone today whether he could confirm the report, Mr. Rostropovich said: "I have no news. I have nothing to say."

Mr. Rostropovich, 48, was banned from Soviet cultural authorities from concerts, both here and abroad, after he issued a defense of author Alexander Solzhenitsyn three years ago.

Whitlam Appears Stronger Australian Campaign Focuses On Leaders' Personalities

SYDNEY, May 5 (NYT).—In Sydney, car stickers proclaim: "I'm Dreading Snedden." In Canberra, somebody changed the sense of a sign reading "Gough's Going Great" by putting a period after the second word.

Politicians campaigning for the election scheduled May 18 have sought to focus attention on the economy, local questions and the personalities of their parties.

The opposition has promised to reduce taxation by the equivalent of \$900 million and cut government spending while bringing inflation under control. The government says a tax cut would only aggravate inflation. It has made no commitment on taxes itself but plans to increase government spending, especially on health and social welfare.

As the campaign gathers momentum, however, public interest seems to be centered more on the personalities of the two main contenders. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and the opposition leader, Billy Snedden, than on political issues.

The election, for both the House of Representatives and the Senate, is being held less than halfway through the three-year term of Mr. Whitlam's Labor government. It was called by the prime minister after the opposition Liberal and Country parties had blocked government legislation in the Senate.

The legislation included measures for a government-controlled health insurance plan for all Australians and a petroleum and minerals authority aimed at concentrating ownership and control of the country's energy and mineral resources in Australian hands. These and other measures have been opposed by the Liberal and Country parties as examples of "creeping socialism."

If Mr. Whitlam is returned to power with about his present majority in the House, he can push through legislation previously rejected by the Senate by holding a joint session of Parliament, which is provided for by the constitution. The Labor party holds 67 of the 125 seats in the House of Representatives and 26 of the 60 Senate seats.

Voters will have to make 15 decisions on election day, choosing one member for the House to represent their district and 10 senators to represent their state, and also answering four referendum questions. Many who find this excessive are expected to vote on strict party lines, following the leader they find most attractive. Discussion of the issues turns inevitably to the character of Mr. Whitlam and Mr. Snedden, even though only residents of their two districts will vote for the two men directly.

Accused of Arrogance

Mr. Whitlam has been accused of being arrogant toward those who disagree with him and patronizing toward the public that supports him. But he is a forceful, vigorous personality that many voters seem to identify with strong leadership.

The prime minister seized the initiative in the early stages of the campaign through the skillful use of his weekly news conferences and appearances on television and radio. While often abrasive, Mr. Whitlam tempers his attacks on the opposition with witty asides that reinforce his political appeal.

Mr. Snedden, a former immigration minister, has a reputation as a "nice bloke" but Liberal party colleagues privately express the wish that he were a little tougher.

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A 3 percent swing against Labor

Bishops Fight Divorce Push

(Continued from Page 1)

country, the divorce controversy is also causing heated debates among priests in diocesan meetings and in rectories.

Implicitly acknowledging the strength of the dissent, the Vatican newspaper L'Osservatore Romano said in a comment on the divorce dispute: "In the church that the situation was 'painful and difficult.'"

Rebel clerics contend that the Italian state's divorce law and the referendum on repeal are secular matters in which the church should not interfere. The dissenting clergymen recall that the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) emphasized the paramount role of individual conscience and say that each Catholic has the right to make his own decision on how to vote in the referendum.

Significantly, however, these dissenting clergymen personally believe that the church's teaching that marriage between Catholics is indissoluble is correct and that they are, therefore, not opposed to church law. They are opposed only to meddling in what they feel is a political issue.

Some Italian bishops are known to be cool toward the anti-divorce drive. However, the Italian Bishops' Conference, in a meeting late in February, by a large majority voted a statement declaring that all Christians had the duty to defend the indissolubility of marriage.

would put the Liberal-Country coalition into power to the House. Mr. Whitlam has hammered away at the "unparalleled destruction" of the opposition and appears to have won some sympathy for his complaint that the Labor party has not been able to carry out the platform on which it won the 1972 election. Some voters, however, have been alarmed by Labor's rapid-fire introduction of controversial legislation.

This could produce a backlash among Australians who vote for the Labor party in 1972 ending more than 20 years of rule by the Liberal and Country parties.

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Chaban Gives Ballot Box A Little Extra

BORDEAUX, May 5 (Reuters).—Gaullist presidential candidate Jacques Chaban Delmas dropped his voter registration card instead of his ballot into the ballot box when he went to vote here today.

He was allowed to vote in the ordinary way but was told he must wait until the box is unsealed after the poll closes, before he can get his card back.

The former prime minister, looked nervous as he left the polling station but managed a grin for reporters.

Mitterrand, Giscard Move To 2d Round

(Continued from Page 1)

only on the 44 percent of the French who already have made a choice, but also those who know that change and renewal come through the success of my candidature. . . I appeal to them to let France win."

Communist Bid

Communist party leader Georges Marchais made an undisguised bid to woo dissident Gaullist voters for whom Mr. Giscard d'Estaing remains anathema because of his key role in driving the late President Charles de Gaulle from power in 1959.

If the Gaullists, who alone control 180 of the National Assembly's 490 seats, helped elect Mr. Mitterrand, he said, the Communist would give up some of the 51 or seven ministerial posts the party has in a 20-to-21 man cabinet.

Despite such outposts of optimism, the mood at Mr. Mitterrand's Paris offices was far from euphoric, and some women supporters were in tears. Mr. Mitterrand and his chief aides have made it clear that his victory in the runoff depended on winning at least 46 percent—better still 46 percent—of the first-round vote.

Despite the call by two rival Trotskyite candidates—Arlet Laguerre and Alain Krivine—for Mr. Mitterrand in the runoff, there was speculation this vital 3 percent of the electorate needed for his victory might decide to abstain.

Political scientists commemo-

Hand-Kissing on Way Out at UN—Fewer Old-World Practitioners

By Eric Pace

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., May 5 (NYT).—In French it's "le baise-main." In German it's "der Handkuss." In Urdu it's "ath ko piyar karna," but in any language, the old-world custom of greeting a woman by kissing her hand is fading from the UN.

In years gone by, when delegations were abetting with princes, barons and gentlemen of the old school, no grand reception was complete without its quota of hand-kisses of the formal, or diplomatic, style, which is to say without actual contact between lips and hands.

"But now hand-kissing is definitely in a decline," said Marie-Pierre Herzog, a high-born Frenchwoman who heads the humanities division of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

"Since World War II, such things have been going out of style except in certain social layers," said Mrs. Herzog, the wife of a former French cabinet minister.

Diplomats are unable to agree on just why the hand-kiss is in eclipse, but they offer various theories.

For one thing, they say, foreign delegations now contain fewer aristocrats than in the past. The American environment has contributed to the decline, other officials say.

"Partly it's due to the liberalism of the women in our host city, New York," a senior Secretariat official reported. "American women don't seem to appreciate having their hands kissed."

Strengthening the link has become a principal objective of Defense Secretary James Schlesinger as he tries to persuade the European allies to get over what he describes as their "inferiority complex" about their conventional military strength.

Mr. Schlesinger has told European military leaders and Pentagon associates that the alliance could take to improve its conventional strength would be to unify command and procedures among

allied air units in West Germany. Such a step, he believes, could save billions of dollars and greatly enhance the air power of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

There are two principal allied air commands in West Germany. One is the Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force on the southern flank, commanded by an American and composed of American, West German and Canadian units. The other on the northern flank is the smaller Second Allied Tactical Air Force, commanded by a British and composed of British, Dutch, Belgian and West German units.

In principle, both forces are responsible to a German general commanding Allied Forces Central Europe. But in practice they have developed different operating procedures to the point that, according to American officials, it would be difficult in time of war for them to operate together.

The same objection was raised by West German pilots in recent interviews. They said they encountered operational difficulties in shifting from the American-led Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force to the British-commanded Second.

The differing operating procedures spring from contrasting American and British concepts of tactical air power.

The American concept calls for close control over fighter-bomber planes so that they can be diverted from arranged targets to direct support of ground troops.

The British believe such tight control is impractical. But American officials suspect the British take this stance partly because they are unwilling to invest heavily in radar and communications equipment. The British concept is that in time of war the planes would be turned loose to attack the rear areas of the attacking forces, with little or no emphasis on close support of allied ground troops.

Overall Result

The overall result, according to American officials, is that in case of an attack on the northern front it would be tactically and operationally difficult to shift planes from the southern flank to assist on the battlefield.

A compromise proposal advanced by U.S. Air Force generals is the establishment of a new headquarters over the two tactical air forces to work out common tactics and procedures. This proposal is not completely acceptable to the British because the United States, with its larger contribution in air power, insists that the new headquarters be commanded by an American.

Mr. Schlesinger is expected to press for resolution of the command issue when the NATO defense ministers gather in Bergen, Norway, in June for their semiannual meeting. Despite the concern over the weak command link, West German and American officials are sounding a new note of confidence in their belief that the NATO forces have developed air superiority on the central front.

Kissinger Is Asking Israelis To Enlarge Pullback Offer

(Continued from Page 1)

Israeli cabinet meeting today, which has taken on a crucial significance.

But privately, some American officials said they were confident that as a result of the intensive talks Mr. Kissinger had last night and this morning, Israel would soften its proposals. Syria has already rejected Israel's previous proposal for a cease-fire line. But according to American officials, "some progress" was made on Friday night in Damascus by Mr. Kissinger on the other points, such as the size of the buffer

zone that would separate the two armies, and the role the United Nations would play in supervising the disengagement.

Besides Premier Golda Meir, other ministers in the caretaker government who attended last night's meeting, which broke up at about 1 a.m. today, were Deputy Premier Yigal Alon, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, Foreign Minister Abba Eban and Simcha Diniz. Mr. Diniz is ambassador to Washington. On the American side were Mr. Kissinger, Joseph Sisco, under secretary of state; Kenneth Keating, ambassador to Israel; Alfred Atherton, assistant secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, and Blumworth Bunker, the permanent American representative to the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference.

This morning, the same officials met at the premier's office. They were joined by Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli prime designate; Shimon Peres, the information minister, and Lt. Gen. Mordechai Gur, chief of staff.

Gen. Gur brought in the Israeli maps, which included the various Israeli and Syrian proposals for disengagement.

American officials stressed that they had intelligence information that the shelling by Syria on the Golan Heights had definitely dropped off in the last 24 hours. This was at variance with Israeli official reports, but Americans stuck



هكذا صحت الفصل

## Memorandum Issued

## White House Alleges Dean 'Misstatements'

By Warren Weaver Jr.

WASHINGTON, May 5 (NYT).—The White House, stepping up its campaign to discredit John Dean 3d, made public yesterday a 32-page memorandum charging the former counsel to the President with "misstatements" in his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee.

The memorandum maintained that transcripts of White House conversations released last week demonstrated that Dean had not told the Senate committee the truth last year about several of his talks with President Nixon.

In 18 separate areas, on dozens of occasions, Mr. Dean made substantive statements concerning the President that do not accord with the tapes, the memorandum declared. "Indeed, they appear in

direct contravention of what the tapes contain."

Traveling with the President in Spokane, Wash., Ronald Ziegler, the White House press secretary, reinforced the theme of the memorandum, saying that "anyone who says the transcripts support John Dean hasn't worked at his reading or is looking at it with a totally partisan or biased eye."

The memorandum listed 16 examples of statements made by Dean during his Senate testimony, contrasted them with statements in the edited transcripts given to the House Judiciary Committee, and called attention to what was termed "important contradictions."

"Mr. Dean contended presidential knowledge of an involvement in that cover-up," the memorandum stated, "is based on what transpired in three meetings with the President. In none of those meetings, can it be said that the tapes hear out what Mr. Dean testified to under oath."

Ever since the White House launched its most recent and most intense counterattack last Monday, renewed emphasis has been placed on discrediting all of Dean's accusations against the President by demonstrating that some of his facts and dates do not conform with the edited versions of presidential conversations.

The memo accused Dean of "predating" some statements that the President made to him about Watergate on March 21, 1973, attributing them to conversations on March 13 and Feb. 28, 1973, and Sept. 15, 1972, in an effort to indicate that Mr. Nixon had earlier knowledge of the crime.

Assertion About Liddy

The memo notes that Dean told the Senate committee that he recalled Mr. Nixon telling him on Sept. 15, 1972, that he was pleased that the indictments of the Watergate burglars "had stopped at [Gordon] Liddy."

"The statement is false," the memo asserts. Based on the transcripts, it maintains that "the President never in this conversation in any way expressed pleasure in the case had stopped with Liddy."

The White House memorandum did not mention the fact that the tapes had been edited to delete portions of conversations that officials maintain were not relevant to Watergate or to drop portions only identified in the transcripts as "unintelligible."

In the same Sept. 15 conversation, according to Dean's Senate testimony, he told the President that the "Watergate situation" had been "contained."

The tape transcripts indicate, the White House memorandum observed, that Dean never used that expression or the word "contained" or said anything similar.

A Washington dispatch from The New York Times Friday reported that a number of officials close to the Watergate investigation had reviewed the White House transcripts and concluded that Dean's earlier testimony was generally credible and lucid.

The White House memorandum noted that Dean had contended that the subject of executive clemency for Howard Hunt, another of the Watergate burglars, had been discussed by Mr. Nixon at the March 13 meeting. The tape transcripts demonstrate, the memorandum said, that the subject did not arise then.

Gerald Bright, U.K. Bandleader In 1930s, Is Dead

LONDON, May 5 (AP).—Gerald Bright, 69, who was Britain's king of swing in the big band era, died yesterday in Switzerland, friends reported. Under the name Gerald, he dominated the dance-band scene in the 1930s and during World War II. As the public taste changed, he moved into television, management and promotion of concert and cabaret performers throughout the world.

Friends said he died of a heart attack while on vacation with his wife, Manya, at Vevey, near Geneva.

In recent years, with interest in the big bands reviving, he took time out from his extensive business interests to return to performing. He conducted a series of nostalgic concerts at London's Festival Hall, and the formula was repeated in a television series.

Mrs. Helen Benton

NEW YORK, May 5 (NYT).—Mrs. Helen Hemingway Benton, 72, the owner and publisher of Encyclopedia Britannica, died Friday in Phoenix, Ariz., after a brief illness. Mrs. Benton became publisher of the Chicago-based reference work in April, 1973, following the death of her husband, William B. Benton, on March 18.

Dr. Louis A. Bunin

NEW YORK, May 5 (NYT).—Dr. Louis A. Bunin, 74, a noted physician, surgeon, otolaryngologist and gynecologist, died Friday, apparently of a heart attack, at his home in Miami Beach, Fla.

Dr. Bunin spent most of his career in Brooklyn. During a 30-year period, he delivered about 19,700 babies, a figure believed to be a record.



President Nixon and wife, Pat, acknowledge applause of crowd after speech at Phoenix Coliseum during Republican rally Friday. At right is Arizona's Sen. Barry Goldwater.

## Hecklers Disturb President's Speech

## Nixon Renews Bid for Support at Ariz. Rally

By Carroll Kilpatrick

SPOKANE, Wash., May 5 (WP).—President Nixon is back on the campaign trail, facing hecklers and hiser placards in an effort to forestall impeachment.

Friday night in Phoenix, Ariz., he staged a typical Nixon anti-impeachment campaign rally, with balloons, confetti and boisterous supporters. But even in that Republican stronghold, the opposition was loud and clear.

The President pushed on with his standard speech on peace and prosperity despite the catcalls and booing, but he was clearly annoyed. Once he said rather sharply that, while dissent is the great American tradition, the right of free speech carries with it the responsibility to keep quiet when someone else is trying to exercise that right.

Sen. Barry Goldwater, "Mr. Republican" to Arizona's conservative voters, had admonished the crowd even before the President arrived to disagree in an agreeable way.

After the Phoenix speech, Mr.

Nixon arrived in Spokane yesterday morning to open Expo '74, the first World's Fair with an environmental theme. He pledged that America will work not only for cleaner air and water but a world in which all peoples can live in peace.

Speaking before representatives of 10 countries and a friendly crowd, officially estimated at more than 50,000, the President called on Americans to consecrate their efforts both for a cleaner environment and for "peace for all mankind."

"There cannot be World War III because it will destroy civilization as we know it," Mr. Nixon said in opening the fair, which is scheduled to run for six months.

Although there were hostile signs outside the fair grounds and along the route of Mr. Nixon's motorcade into Spokane, the crowd was orderly. Republican Gov. Daniel Evans met the President and Mrs. Nixon at the airport and introduced him at the fair.

The fair's theme is "celebrat-

ing tomorrow's fresh, new environment."

Mr. Nixon emphasized, as he did in his speech Friday night, that he intends to go to another summit meeting in Moscow next month and that it will be dedicated not only to achieving a stronger peace but also to co-operation in environmental health and related fields.

"We will not agree on all things," the President said. "We will have sharp debates." But he and the Soviet officials will agree on "the need for all nations to cooperate, share their knowledge and their brains in cleaning up the environment of the world," he said.

Immediately after declaring the exposition "officially open to all the citizens of the world," Mr. and Mrs. Nixon made a brief tour of the Washington State Pavilion and then departed for Washington, D.C.

The Phoenix rally, described by a White House aide as a citizens' rally, had been arranged by Arizona leaders, who carefully distributed tickets. Yet several hundred anti-Nixon people got into the well-guarded Phoenix Coliseum.

1,000 Picketers

Outside, there were more than 1,000 picketers, some with signs calling for the President's impeachment.

The President's speech was directed to the loyal Nixonians, who shouted their approval of everything he said and carried signs reading, "Nixon Brings Peace," "Arizona Loves Nixon," "Subpoena the Chappaquiddick Files" and "Walter Cronkite Bug Off."

A young man held up a sign reading "Only Communies Love Nixon." An elderly man climbed over several rows of chairs and ripped the sign from the young man's hands. When he tried to get back the sign another man and a woman struck him.

A police source said there were about 14,000 persons in the Coliseum and about 500 of them were hecklers.

Before the President arrived, members of the Arizona Republican congressional delegation hailed him as a great President who is standing almost alone against a hysterical press and a Congress under liberal Democratic control.

Next Saturday, the President will go to Stillwell, Okla., and other trips are said to be planned in the near future to take his anti-impeachment campaign to the people.

In all speeches outside Washington, the President emphasizes the peace and prosperity theme, the importance of America as a world leader and his own efforts in the field of foreign policy.

There is seldom any reference to Watergate, except to emphasize his determination to stay in office and to say that the time has come "to get Watergate behind us and get on with the business of America."

## Proxmire Reports Probe Stalled on Nixon 'Servants'

WASHINGTON, May 5 (NYT).—A congressional investigation into the use of military personnel as "servants" to the President and his staff has been thwarted by the White House, according to a statement by Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis.

The senator, a frequent critic of military spending, characterized the White House conduct as a "disgraceful taxpayer rip-off."

The General Accounting Office, which serves as the investigative arm of Congress, has attempted unsuccessfully for seven months to secure records from the White House concerning the approximately 80 Navy stewards assigned there.

"My office has received complaints," said Sen. Proxmire, "from these stewards alleging intolerably long working hours and noncompensation for serving drinks and food at private parties."

Most of the stewards are assigned to the White House "mess," a private dining room for top presidential aides, according to Sen. Proxmire.

## Court Dissent May Undercut 'Reverse Bias' in U.S. Schools

By Iver Peterson

NEW YORK, May 5 (NYT).—Colleges and graduate schools remain free to use race as a special consideration in admissions decisions following the Supreme Court's refusal to rule on the merits of the DeFunis "reverse discrimination" case. But some campus officials say that the decision will bring pressure to substitute in the future some "color-blind" criteria, such as an applicant's social and economic background.

Other administrators declined to comment on the decision's effect until they had a chance to study it. The court decided on April 23 that the case was moot because Mario DeFunis Jr., who filed the suit to gain admission to the University of Washington Law School, was about to graduate from the law school this spring.

But in the absence of a definite ruling, the strong dissent by Justice William Douglas, the court's most outspoken civil libertarian, is being closely studied. Justice Douglas condemned the use of race as an admissions criterion as invalid under the Constitution but added that consideration of an applicant's social and economic background would not be.

The Next Time

"That's kind of like the handwriting on the wall for the next time a case like this comes to the court," an associate dean of a Midwestern law school said. He would not let his name be used until his office had read the decision more carefully.

All school officials who were interviewed in a random survey agreed that a similar case would eventually reach the court for a definitive decision on the merits of the case.

James Wilson, the University of Washington counsel who argued the university's case before the court, said that he had advised the university's law school that it may continue its practice of separating minority students from the white applicant pool and of giving special weight to race in making selections.

"But we have the Douglas dissent," Mr. Wilson went on. "It gives us an important viewpoint of our justice, and I think we should listen to him. Not only because he is a justice of the Supreme Court, but he's a scholar with a deep commitment of his own in terms of the 14th Amendment, and also with a good background in legal education itself."

3 Years Ago

The case was brought by Mr. DeFunis against the University of Washington more than three years ago, when he was rejected for admission to the law school, even though 36 minority students— with lower grades and test scores

## Petersen Held 'Used' by Dean For Probe Data

WASHINGTON, May 5 (AP).—The original Watergate prosecutors stopped giving information gathered in their investigation to Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen because Mr. Petersen was passing the information to the White House, sources close to the investigation disclosed Thursday.

The sources emphasized that no one believed Mr. Petersen was a part of any conspiracy but believed instead he was being used by John Dean 3d, then White House counsel.

The sources said Mr. Dean told Mr. Petersen that President Nixon wanted the information about the Watergate investigation when, in fact, Mr. Dean was passing the information out to potential Watergate defendants.

"Dean is counsel to the President, for God's sake," a source said. "He told Henry the President wanted the information and Henry believed him. When the prosecutors found out what Dean was doing with the information Henry was giving him, the prosecutors told Henry he had to sever himself from the case because he was a potential prosecution witness against Dean in an obstruction of justice."

## Wrong Address A \$500 Mistake

GARDEN GROVE, Calif., May 5 (AP).—Mr. and Mrs. James Yapp are jack home, but they are still upset with the fumigator who mistook their home for one with the same number on a street with a similar name.

The Yapps live on Ora Street. The woman who wanted her home fumigated lives on Ora Drive. The Yapps came home recently and found "the house all covered up with a danger sign on it" and had to stay out of it for one night.

There was no charge for the \$500 job, Mrs. Yapp said.

## U.S. Probes Illegal Kickbacks By Airlines to Travel Agents

By Robert Lindsey

NEW YORK, May 5 (NYT).—Federal agents say they have uncovered an extensive kickback operation in which millions of dollars in illegal rebates have been secretly funneled by airlines to travel agents.

A federal grand jury in Brooklyn has in recent weeks heard testimony alleging that for years major airlines—including Pan American World Airways, Trans World Airlines and many foreign lines—have been paying illegal rebates to high-volume travel agents. Only rarely have the rebates been passed on to passengers in the form of reduced fares, according to sources close to the investigation.

The existence of the illicit practice, known as "discounting" in the travel industry, was disclosed by The New York Times more than a year ago. The Brooklyn case is the first criminal investigation of the practice, and it is expected to involve senior executives of a number of airlines and major travel wholesalers here and elsewhere.

23 Atlantic Carriers

Executives of the 23 scheduled airlines that fly between the United States and Europe were issued subpoenas last week to appear before the grand jury. They will appear during the next two weeks. Officials of a number of New York travel agencies and tour wholesalers have already testified and others have been summoned to go before the jury soon.

Representatives of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, were among those subpoenaed.

Disclosure of the investigation occurred at a time when Pan Am and TWA are seeking about \$700 million a year in federal subsidies to offset higher fuel prices.

The two airlines said Friday that they would make no comment on the investigation.

"The evidence we have so far indicates that this [kickback] is very extensive, very widespread," Edward Boyd 5th, acting U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York, who is directing the investigation, said in an interview.

Besides alleged fare malpractices, he said, the investigation is looking into possible airline violations of anti-trust statutes, reports that some travel agents failed to report their kickbacks on income-tax returns and other issues.

The payment of kickbacks to agents and tour wholesalers is illegal because airlines are required by law to charge the fare established by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

According to sources familiar with the case, the kickbacks have ranged from as low as 4 percent to as much as 50 percent of the face value of the tickets, with rebates of 10 to 20 percent not uncommon.

These payments are in addition to the legal sales commission of 7 to 11 percent authorized for travel agents.

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**GRUENIER**  
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# Nixon, Kleindienst Conversation

WASHINGTON (AP)—Following is the transcript, edited and made public by the White House, of the meeting April 15, 1973, between the President (P) and Richard Kleindienst (K), the then attorney general, in the Executive Office building from 1:12 p.m. to 2:23 p.m.:

P. Well.  
K. How you feeling?  
P. Fine — fine — a little tired. I've been working very hard as you can imagine with everything.

K. Last night after the White House Correspondents' Dinner at midnight, Henry Petersen called me, quite agitated — after which he and Earl Silbert, who is the chief assistant U.S. attorney who tried the Watergate matter and Harold Titus came over. Titus is the United States attorney.

P. Like some coffee. Would you like coffee?  
K. No, thank you sir.  
P. Coca-Cola.  
K. Nothing, thank you. I'd like a glass of water if I may.  
P. Glass of water — and some coffee — Chief.

K. The purpose of it was to give me the benefit of what had transpired on Thursday, Friday and Saturday with Magruder, and then what had been transpiring for a week with John Dean and his attorneys.

P. They didn't negotiate with Dean I understand.

K. John has some attorneys — I don't recognize the names.

P. Attorneys?

K. Yes.

P. Good, good he's got one.

K. The posture that Dean and his attorney, that they're exploring the legal situation with the understanding if they don't work out some kind of a strong arrangement then anything that is said or represented by either John or the attorney will not be used.

P. Hmm.

K. Kind of an exploratory situation.

P. Yeah.

K. I wanted to see you and why I wanted to see you immediately, by myself, is that.

P. No problems then — in seeing me by myself. If you want, I mean.

K. Yes, Sir.

P. I guess with Cabinet people and the rest they always can. I have other people in, Dick, as you know, so that nobody keeps the damned notes out of the Cabinet. My understanding is —

K. I talked to John Ehrlichman last night. Also.

P. Yeah — he told me that you wanted to come in, and I said "fine."

K. When I talked to him last week I didn't think there would be much necessity to be here today, Sunday.

P. This is Sunday, certainly.

K. Magruder's conversations with attorneys, with every absolute certainty that Magruder is going to be put on before the grand jury.

P. Are they going to call him back?

K. Yeah.

P. Oh, of course, because he's going to plead guilty.

K. He's going to plead guilty and he's going to tell everything he knows.

P. Sure.

K. That kind of information is not going to remain confidential.

P. As you know the — we have no — I have not and I would not try to get information from the grand jury, except from you.

K. Right.

## Dean Thing

P. And we have not. But the reason — the reason that I am aware about the Dean thing — I have taken Dean off the matter, of course. I had to. As far as what he was reporting here at the present time, I put Ehrlichman on.

P. Ehrlichman's conducted his own investigation which I told him to give you. He says he's not going to mean much because he says Magruder frankly corroborates everything that he thought (unintelligible).

K. Yeah.

P. Except that Magruder may — you can't tell, in his view, that you can believe everything Magruder says because Magruder's apparently got a —

K. Got a self-interest involved.

P. He's got his self-interest and you don't know whether he's going to drag this fellow or that fellow or whatever the hell is, you know that is the trouble when a guy starts lying and, you know, I mean, wondering whether Magruder is telling the whole truth on John Mitchell — you know, Mitchell — have you talked to Mitchell?

K. No and I'm not going to. I don't think that I can talk to him.

P. I think you should know, Mitchell insists — I didn't talk to him. You know, I have never asked him. Have you ever asked him?

K. No, Sir. We have never discussed the matter.

P. I never have either. I asked Bill Rogers about that. I said, Bill, should I ask him? Not John Mitchell. And so I asked Ehrlichman. I said, now I want you to ask him.

K. Yeah.

P. What I was going to say — the only information that we have is the Magruder information and the Dean information and that's enough.

K. Yeah, that is what we have here. The difficulty as outlined by —

P. The special prosecutors?

K. No, No. The difficulty with respect to some of the information as outlined, I sat up until five o'clock this morning with these people going over and over it again.

P. Right.

K. (unintelligible) basic things where Dean implies — (unintelligible). The basic problem that — it's possible that Dean might testify to, what Magruder will testify to, and then you've got Strachan or somebody like that. He was on Haldeman's staff. There is a possible suggestion that Haldeman and Ehrlichman ab as yet —

K. It looks that way — whether there is legal proof of it so far as that — that they —

P. Indicating what?

K. Well, knowledge in this respect, or knowledge or conduct either before or after the event. But that in any event, whether there's —

P. Both Haldeman and Ehrlichman?

K. Yes. Whether it's sufficient to bring about an indictment as a result of the course the testimony implies. There will be statements made, circumstantial evidence depicted.

P. Right.

K. That could raise a very serious question with respect to both of them. That is my primary reason for talking to you (unintelligible).

P. Sure — sure.

K. I thought you ought to know.

P. Who told you this, Silbert?

K. Yeah.

P. So he says he gets his information from whom? Dean?

K. Dean with respect to some statements that Ehrlichman is supposed to have made after the event. There is no suggestion that John Ehrlichman knew anything about it before.

P. Yeah.

K. As to Bob, this fellow Strachan (pronunciation). Is that his name?

P. Strachan.

K. Strachan?

P. He worked for him. He's a guy who worked for Haldeman, down in the basement.

K. Well, we haven't really gone all the way with him yet. He's kind of fishing around. You know, as to what he's going to say and what he's not — he's being a little bit suggestive, but there will be the probability that Strachan might provide testimony that would —

P. Implicate Haldeman?

K. Would implicate Haldeman, and it wouldn't be direct, precise testimony.

P. I have asked both Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

K. I know you have.

P. And they have given me absolute — you know what I mean. You can only believe — you would only believe John Mitchell. I suppose, wouldn't you? I don't believe Haldeman or Ehrlichman could ever — you know — (unintelligible).

gible hurt to be so close to people and yet I think of —

K. John Mitchell and I were a little off more by myself. (Unintelligible) But the difficulty with respect to Bob and right now they do not think that they are going to have the kind of legal evidence that would lead to indictment. However, they all feel that as a result of the closed testimony — a matter which is going to come out. It will be circumstantial, an association, an involvement, and it's going to be —

K. Or if people are up for trial, Mr. President, you say.

P. No — no — no — I'm sorry — not conviction — but after their indictment.

K. Yes. After the indictment, "Here's \$50,000. You plead guilty and thereafter take the Fifth Amendment. If they offer you immunity, you know, not testify about anything." If that's —

K. And then you give 'em money?

K. Yes.

P. That's — I agree.

K. Yes — obstruction of justice.

P. Yeah. If the purpose of it is to get them not to talk. In other words, not to carry out what the judge said. I can see that.

K. Sure.

K. What the situation really is, and that is why I wanted to communicate with you immediately, today, to keep this general story off the streets.

P. Oh, hell — don't they know about it?

K. Tomorrow morning it is likely to be all over town. Tuesday noon.

P. Involving Haldeman and Ehrlichman, too?

K. And that is the admission that LaRue, Mardian, Dean say that he was rehearsed and coached and coached by LaRue, Mardian, Mitchell, Dean, all for his initial testimony before the grand jury. Well, Magruder could testify that he believed that — there's two things — the obstruction of justice and suborning a witness of perjury.

P. That could get them all on that.

K. And if LaRue, Mardian, Dean, Mitchell said no we didn't do that but we were told what the story was — we did nothing.

P. They would question that. K. Anyway, that is certain to be known to the prosecutor.

P. That's right.

K. This is the money that was available and used for attorneys supporting these defendants.

P. Mm, huh. The motive I think you passed that on to Ehrlichman — after I raised the question. A motive was involved there huh?

K. About the money?

P. Yeah.

K. If the money was raised, K. If you plead guilty and he really there's no crime committed.

P. What's that?

K. That's — I don't know.

P. Explain that legal point please.

K. Well, I inquired into it personally.

## Obstruction

P. Of course I was thinking of the Berrigans and all the funds that have been raised through the years, Scottboro, etc. Nobody ever raised any question about it. If you raise money for the defense and it's for support — and Ellsberg — (expletive removed) in Ellsberg, the Defense —

K. And likewise in this case. If I had committed a crime and you know about it and you say, "Kleindienst, you go in the court and plead guilty to the commission of that crime and here is \$100,000, you know, to take you over and so forth."

P. That's not a crime?

K. No. On the other hand, if you know that I committed a crime.

P. Right.

K. And you say, "You go in there and plead guilty, and here is \$100,000 on the condition that thereafter you'll say nothing. You just make the plea, take the Fifth Amendment, the judge cues you for contempt, you've got to continue in testify you don't. You do not take it. Then you are now in a position of obstructing justice."

P. Excuse me. If you explain that again if you tell me — if you tell me — if you raise the money for the purpose of telling when you go to talk.

K. After he's pleaded guilty. Let's take that —

P. Well, they were all before the grand jury at this point, right?

K. And the judge says, "I'm going to give you immunity. I have ordered you to testify to what you know." He refuses. (takes the Fifth Amendment) and he is punished for contempt. And you give him \$25,000 (unintelligible).

P. There was some thought that — that was all after the election that that happened.

K. I don't know but that happened after the conviction — after Liddy's conviction.

P. Oh, in other words, the obstruction they are talking about is what happened after the conviction?

K. Yeah.

P. Either then before the conviction?

K. Yes.

P. Well, who the hell would — you mean — but I can't see Haldeman or Ehrlichman or anybody in that (unintelligible).

K. No.

P. No — I'm just asking. Or Dean, in your mind that after that they raised — they gave money for that purpose?

K. For whatever they gave — it's a fact that money was given to Liddy in connection with —

P. Let me ask you — there isn't any question that money that they have had on that or whether — Mitchell's defense frankly — it would be — you

know — these people had worked for the Committee and they were provided with money for their legal fees and for their support. That is — this is before their conviction. Now comes the point of after their conviction. That's when the case may be, that's when you get the jeopardy.

K. Or if people are up for trial, Mr. President, you say.

P. No — no — no — I'm sorry — not conviction — but after their indictment.

K. Yes. After the indictment, "Here's \$50,000. You plead guilty and thereafter take the Fifth Amendment. If they offer you immunity, you know, not testify about anything." If that's —

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K. That's — I don't know.

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## On Sirica

K. Yeah — just generally. This Sirica, Judge Sirica, is not enforcing the strict requirements of law with respect to secrecy in Grand Jury proceedings.

P. Certainly the one with regard to Mitchell — do they, let me ask you this — do they tell you flatly Mitchell will be indicted?

K. Yes. They do — so will Dean.

P. Will be indicted?

K. Yeah.

P. Even without testimony — they're talking about it?

K. Magruder's testimony will be enough to indict him.

P. Strachan — will be indicted?

K. They don't know yet. Incidentally, Dwight Chapin testified with respect to the so-called Segretti affair.

P. Yeah.

K. And said that Haldeman knew about it.

P. That's true. But that's not something they're in — because of Segretti — even though Segretti pleaded the Fifth. It's just built — the Segretti thing — it's no this — it's just.

K. That has nowhere near the potential of this situation. The only thing it does with respect to Bob, it casts a little bit of a taint.

P. I know.

K. That reflects upon the rest of it.

P. Now what is your, what is your recommendation, then?

K. Well, first I have this situation. It seems to me that so long as I do anything at the Department of Justice I cannot thereafter be with Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, LaRue. They won't believe that we didn't talk about the Watergate case.

P. Who can you have contacts with? Me? I shouldn't be.

K. I think it is — I don't know whether I need contact anyone. Incidentally, there's a — there's a weak possible case on Colson.

P. What is that?

K. He knew about and was involved in a conversation pertaining to money for Liddy's project. Call on Colson to make over there — to somebody else.

P. Yeah, I heard about that.

K. You know, "Where the devil are Liddy's projects?"

P. Colson denies this doesn't he?

K. Yes. He also did the unusual thing of hiring himself a lie detector test.

P. Oh (expletive removed).

K. Isn't that a terrifying thing I've ever heard?

## From 'Decent Fellow' to 'Facile Liar'

# Nixon's Opinions of Aides Revealed by Tapes

By Linda Charlton

WASHINGTON, May 5 (NYT)—President Nixon, in his comparative privacy and informality of his Oval Office discussions with close associates, was given to crisp evaluations of his friends and enemies. Following are some of them, as culled from the tape-recorded transcripts of the tapes of those conversations.

Henry Petersen, assistant attorney general and chief of the criminal division: "Well, Petersen is honest."

John Magruder, deputy director of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President: "Not a very bright fellow. I mean he is bright, but he doesn't think through to the end... A very facile liar. Magruder's a sort of lightweight, in a very heavy job."

Herbert Kalmbach, Mr. Nixon's personal lawyer: "A decent fellow. He will make a good witness. He is smart."

Charles Colson, former special counsel to the President: "Talks too much" and "is also a name-dropper."

Sen. Howard Baker Jr., Tennessee Republican who was chairman of the Senate Watergate committee: "A smoothy—unresponsive."

Patrik Gray 3d, former acting FBI director: "Oh, he's dumb."

P. Of course, I'm a great supporter of Colson's. He's been a brick as have all these people. But (expletive removed) that was a stupid thing.

K. Just stupid. Crazy. Secondly —

P. They consider there is a weak case on him at this point.

K. Yes — and a very, very peripheral, weak case — probably not an indictable case with respect to Ehrlichman and Haldeman.

P. Yeah.

K. Just learned that.

P. OK. Your point is that it'll break — that their names have been mentioned?

K. You know — it'll come out in trial and testimony.

P. What's your recommendation on it?

K. Well.

P. Let me tell you what concerns me. If I may, I want to talk to the special prosecutor a little bit. You know, it's embarrassing and all the rest, but it'll pass. We've got to — we've got to just ride it through Dick.

K. Yes.

P. Do the best we can. Right?

## Handle It Right

K. Yes sir.

P. We don't run to the hills on this and so forth. The main thing is to handle it right.

K. Those are my inclinations, Mr. President.

P. Well you know — we've got to handle it right.

K. That's right.

P. And naturally because of your association with John Mitchell you would have to disqualify yourself.

K. Mardian, LaRue.

P. Oh — you know them all. Right — right — right. Now the difficulty with the special prosecutor — it gets a guy into the (expletive removed) thing. First it is a reflection — it is sort of an admitting mea culpa for our whole system of justice. I don't want to do that. I think what you ought to do — agreed — the Dean doesn't know probably anything about criminal law.

K. He doesn't know anything about this case either.

P. About this case — but I think that the Dean — the Dean is a decent, honorable man and you step aside, say that the deputy attorney general of the United States will be in charge of this matter. And you say to him and (unintelligible).

K. Don't understand — I think he ought to (unintelligible).

P. No question about Silbert and these guys going after it. And I let me tell you, I have never — you know — I have never felt that — I have always told these







## The New Politics

While Americans read, with horrified fascination, the once very private conversations of the man they elected their President in a vote of landslide proportions, the House of Representatives buckles down to the task of deciding what to do about these and other revelations. It will not be a question of popular votes for a new president, or even of the decision of that curious anachronism, the electoral college. Rather, the House must determine whether to present the case of President Nixon to the Senate, and then that body must choose whether or not Mr. Nixon will be succeeded by Vice-President Ford.

The procedure has all been outlined in the Constitution; impeachment of a President has been actually tried once in the country's history. But for all that, this will be "new politics" for America—not the "new politics" which was spoken of in the wake of President Kennedy's entry into office, a matter of style and technique, but the application of a mixture of judicial and political processes to the selection of a chief executive which has never been successfully applied in the United States. The very novelty has been a factor in delaying recourse to that, "ultima ratio" of the Constitution: impeachment.

The United States is not alone in experiencing new forms of decisive political action—or at least forms that do not normally bulk large in choosing governments. The last British election was in a considerable extent triggered and the results shaped by a coal strike. Italy's current crisis (or

one of them) comes over divorce laws. India's rail strike may be more significant than many elections.

Nor is the effect of novelty limited to its impact on conventional governmental processes. Revolution, too, has largely abjured most of its old dogmatic bases, and the kind of mass appeal on which success really depends, for a perverted public relations approach—one that uses kidnapping, murder and the theft of works of art for limited and, apparently, whimsical (at least in the context of the brutal means employed) objectives.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is a type of the weird new revolution; whether the American Indian Movement is essentially revolutionary or reformist is not clear, but the occupation of Wounded Knee and the participation of AIM members in a revived ghost dance, the ritual that was supposed to protect Indians from white men's bullets, and led, by a tragic irony, to the original massacre of the Indians at Wounded Knee, must come within the sphere of unusual and largely irrelevant revolutionary tactics.

The Judiciary Committee of the House, of course, has not been engaged in a ghost dance. That term would apply more accurately to the maneuvers of Mr. Nixon and his confidantes, as revealed by the tape transcripts. But novelty is in the political air; it may be exciting for some, depressing for others—what is necessary is for humanity to learn to live with forces and events that are as remote from the older political science as a journey to the moon is from the physical sciences of a day when the then laws were regarded as immutable.

## To Save the Presidency

From the beginning of the Watergate scandal, President Nixon has asserted that his overriding concern is to protect not himself but the great office of the presidency.

However sincere Mr. Nixon may be in his protestations, he has hardly embarked during the past week on a course of action designed to discharge his sense of stewardship. Through James D. St. Clair, his special counsel, he is again fighting a rear-guard battle in the courts by trying to quash a subpoena for tapes requested by the special prosecutor. He substituted edited transcripts for the original tapes subpoenaed by the House Judiciary Committee and is refusing to make any additional evidence available to the committee in its impeachment inquiry. The President meanwhile seeks to blur this legal obstructionism by making public hundreds of pages of edited transcripts of his own conversations and embarking on a fresh round of speechmaking to whip up public support for himself.

The honor and strength of the presidency cannot be safeguarded by such expedients. The forced resignations, the indictments, and the guilty pleas of so many of Mr. Nixon's closest political associates and senior White House aides, together with the accusations of grave misconduct leveled at the President himself have immobilized his administration and destroyed his capacity for leadership.

At the same time, the publication of the transcripts of Mr. Nixon's conversations is a disarming event in the history of the presidency. Leaving aside questions both of legal culpability and of public relations impact, thoughtful citizens can only come away from a reading of these transcripts with a profound sense of sadness and shame. The long, convoluted, rambling discussions of blackmail payments, of burglaries concealed, of "national security" cover stories, of "beating the rap," of double-crossing some administration underlings to save others is simply sickening. The pervading tone of these conversations is not that of the chief executive of a great and free republic with his advisers, but of a shy lawyer counseling some scared and rattled and rather shady clients. The language is the language of "The Godfather."

Three courses now lie open to Mr. Nixon. He can resign and retire at once to private life, leaving to history and the healing hands

of time to sort out the rights and the wrongs, the accomplishments and the disasters of his extraordinary career.

But the American presidency has no tradition of resignation. While we long ago recommended this course, it is a precedent Mr. Nixon would be understandably reluctant to set, particularly as he knows that his resignation would be interpreted by many as tantamount to a confession of guilt.

A second course is available to him in an untested section of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution. Section 3 of that amendment provides that "whenever the President transmits to the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as acting President."

Under this arrangement, the impeachment proceedings would go on, but the nation would be spared the continuing and deepening disgrace of a President trying to lead the administration, manage domestic affairs, cope with a galloping inflation and conduct negotiations with foreign leaders while under this dark, ugly cloud. Suffice it to say that in no other reasonably free country could a president or a prime minister survive in office after such disclosures as Mr. Nixon visited upon his fellow citizens this week. If the Senate refused to convict Mr. Nixon, he could reclaim his office and the nation would have the satisfaction of knowing that constitutional processes had been fully observed.

The third course would be the one that is now being followed, in which Mr. Nixon is continuing to "fight like hell" in the courts, in Congress and on the political hustings, which is his right, while at the same time trying to discharge the heavy responsibilities of the presidency. He cannot long continue to follow this course without inflicting additional grievous harm upon the office he professes to cherish.

Nothing less than the political strength and moral prestige of the presidency are at stake. Mr. Nixon could now protect the presidency by at least temporarily withdrawing from it.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

### International Opinion

#### Gen. Spínola's Task

General Spínola will find it hard enough in Lisbon to form a moderate civilian government to take over from the junta. During nearly half a century of total political repression the Portuguese liberal constitutionalists have contented themselves with theorizing. It is not Spínola's fault but Salazar's that there is no properly organized

moderate white group for him to take to in Lisbon and not even the pretense of such a black group in Africa. But it was he who fired the shot that started the avalanche, and he will need all the statesmanship he can muster to prevent chaos in Portugal and racial war on the sensitive banks of the Limpopo.

—From the Sunday Telegraph (London).

### In the International Edition

#### Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 6, 1899.

WASHINGTON.—President McKinley is suffering from a slight attack of rheumatism, and is obviously feeling the strain which the work of the last few months has imposed upon him. The Cuban question is definitely settled, but the Philippine solution is still pending. Even so, on the advice of his physician, the President will take some rest at Hot Springs, Va., where he expects to benefit by the baths.

#### Fifty Years Ago

May 6, 1924.

CHICAGO.—Helen of Troy was a real woman, according to Dr. James H. Brewster, dean of the department of Oriental Languages at the University of Chicago, who has just returned from several months in Egypt deciphering manuscripts. Some of these, he says, supplement discoveries made in Asia Minor and show that the Trojan War was fought not, as Helen, over whose abduction the battle raged, was not just a figure in the imagination of a Greek minstrel.



## It Was Not Always Like This

By Robert J. Donovan

WASHINGTON.—The quality of the air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we eat, the money we save, the novels we read is deteriorating—and so is the character of the presidency.

Now that Berkeley's free-speech movement has been copied and installed in the White House, down the corridor from where the fashionable prayer meetings are held on certain Sundays, the greatest obscenity left over is the assertion—still heard from the Nixon hard core—that things were always like this, more or less.

If Dwight D. Eisenhower were alive today and read the Nixon transcripts, he would have a powerful hard rap to give. He would not have believed that a President could say that he knew where a million dollars in cash could be raised, if necessary, for questionable purposes.

What is revealing is not so much that President Nixon should have used the language of the street in the Oval Office, but that his advisers should have used it in counseling him. Thus:

Dean: "That is the way Bud [Egil Krogh] rests easy, because he is convinced that he was doing. He said there was treason about the country, and it could have threatened the way the war was handled and the people's desire."

### Lack of Awe

The cheapening of the presidency is written there. The lack of awe of the man, the decline of the majesty of the office is plain. Advisers would not have approached other presidents we have known with such sullen intimacy. President Truman swore on occasion, but in 1948 he refused to have anything to do with a certain official of the Democratic National Committee largely because that official used profanity in his presence.

Foul language is not an impeachable offense, to be sure. If it were, Lyndon Johnson and even Abraham Lincoln might have started fairly close to disaster at times. And it is far more important that President Nixon should have re-established relations with China, negotiated with the Soviet Union and eased the situation in the Middle East than that he should have talked politely.

But the question of how we are governed is a pressing one nevertheless. Contemptuously, in one of the latest transcripts, the President said that Patrick Gray "isn't very smart." Yet that was the very man he had just nominated for director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—an appointment that then Attorney General John Mitchell himself had said would be the most important that any president would make in this century.

How dare a President, a citizen might well ask, appoint to one of the most sensitive positions in the government a man he did not consider smart?

### Cynical Contrasts

The proper tribunals will have to answer the question raised about possible criminal conduct on the part of the President. What is appalling about the transcripts is the cynical contrasts they portray between the lofty role Mr. Nixon plays on stage and the sordid scenes in the wings.

"Another way to do it then, Bob, and John realizes this," Mr. Nixon said at one point to his chief aide, H. R. (Bob) Halde-man, "is to continue to try to out our leasers. Now we have to take a look at that course of action. First, it is going to require approximately \$1 million to take care of the jackasses who are in jail. That could be arranged. . . . Now let me tell you. We could get the money. There is no problem in that. We can't provide the money. Money could be provided. Mitchell could provide the way to deliver it."

This is the same Mitchell, of course, whom Mr. Nixon had in mind when, in his keifist moment as the Republican National Con-

vention in Miami in 1968, he promised that the country was going to have a new attorney general, not someone who was lenient about crime like Ramsey Clark, who held that office under President Johnson.

This is not to say that Mr. Nixon actually approved the payment of hush money, although such payments apparently were made in obstruction of justice. Maybe the President's words at that point had another meaning—namely, that money should be paid for the legitimate legal expenses of defendants.

Nevertheless, it is hard to escape the conclusion that instead of striving to uphold the law, as he had sworn to do, Mr. Nixon was at least willing to listen to arguments for the payment of hush money "to keep the cap on the bottle." And it is harder yet to conclude that his decision against such acts, if that is what it was, was taken on the grounds of ethics and not of expediency.

Not the least disturbing aspect of the revelation is the way the President, in his semi-isolation, miscalculated the enormity of what he was up against.

"You know where the Watergate story is in The Washington Post today?" Mr. Halde-man asked Mr. Nixon on April 17, 1973, "Page 19."

"I know, I know," the President replied. "And it'll be Page 19 five months from now if we handle it right."

The slick handling of things is another shabby tale in the transcripts, as in the revelation of how national security came to be the President's, public defense in the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

### If Hunt Talks

Nixon: "What is the answer on this? How you keep it out, I don't know. You can't keep it out, I hunt talks. You see the point is irrelevant. It has gotten to the point . . ."

Dean: "You might put it on a national security ground basis." Halde-man: "It absolutely was." Dean: "And say this was CIA . . ."

Halde-man: "Ah . . ."

Nixon: "Nationally security. We had to get information for national security grounds."

Dean: "Then the question is, why didn't CIA do it or why didn't FBI do it?"

Nixon: "Because we had to do it on a confidential basis."

Halde-man: "Because we were checking on them."

These transcripts are certain to create fierce debate in the country and in Congress. The impeachment issue will become hotter and naicier.

### Other Presidents

The day after the release of the transcripts I was talking to some hard-core Nixon supporters. Their reaction was that President Truman had been identified with the malodorous Fendegast machine, that President Johnson was vulgar in speech and manner and that Edward Kennedy had covered up at Chappaquiddick. So what is so unusual about Mr. Nixon?

Nevertheless, a break may be occurring in the ranks of those who set the tone of pro-Nixon opinion.

### Letters

#### Rich, Poor Nations

Regarding James Reston's article, "Impeachment at the United Nations" (Herald Tribune, April 29), I suggest he consider these factors:

Among other problems, the poor nations of the world are characterized by a population growth equal to or greater than the world average; relatively little control over their economies; a harmful influence exercised by wealthy entrepreneurs and corrupt government officials.

Therefore the leaders of these poor countries must be able to deal with these basic socio-economic problems. For unless they do so, even a relatively large sum of foreign financial aid from the rich nations will not contribute significantly towards alleviating the misery and poverty these unfortunate nations are facing.

Yes, the rich must be willing to help the poor, but the poor have to first be willing to help themselves.

JAMES ANDREANO,  
Leyran, Switzerland.

## The Mideastern Hydra

By C. L. Sulzberger

BEIRUT—Even though the last Arab-Israeli war officially ended over six months ago and initial disengagement has been achieved in Sinai, plenty of shooting still goes on in the Middle East.

The conflict between Syria and Israel is gathering rather than losing force. The Kurds and Iraqis are at it again. The frontiers between Iraq and Iran simmer and occasionally explode. And Palestine guerrillas lurk in the background, ready to strike at the Israelis, or sometimes at Lebanese security forces.

Few of these affairs are directly connected, but all are indirectly linked. Moreover, they impinge on the superpowers, still groping for a détente that has yet to convincingly tranquilize this area.

This time—unlike previous occasions—there is no evidence that the United States is helping the martial Kurds. The Soviet Union has even sought to bring them and Baghdad together. Iraq is a client of Moscow, and its best Arab hope to rival an Egypt swinging openly toward Washington.

Therefore, Russia doesn't want to weaken Iraq by another civil war. Furthermore, Moscow is sensitive about the possibility of sympathetic trouble with its own small Kurdish minority in the southern U.S.S.R.

### Iran Delighted

But Iran is delighted every time the Kurds make trouble for Iraq, the shah's bete noire. Iran has been shipping military equipment to Muhsin Mustafa Barzani, the aged Kurdish leader. Israel, hoping to handicap an Iraq which favors unending Palestinian war, is likewise thought to be giving Barzani funds.

The position of Syria is also affected. Iraq strongly opposes Saudi's Egyptian government—and encourages hard-liners in Syria not to consider any terms for an Israeli cease-fire. Baghdad hopes to embarrass Cairo as it inches toward peace and to prevent Damascus from agreeing to compromises.

Thus Syria automatically feels a reduction in pressures from Iraq when the latter must give priority to its Kurdish headache. This slightly easier situation could allow Damascus to find its own way on Israeli policy, free of Iraqi pressures.

### Syrian Morale

Yet the Syrians are happy to keep fighting Israel and this suits Moscow's anti-Sadat mood. Russia has lost Egypt and wishes to

avoid losing Syria to the thrust of Secretary Kissinger's diplomacy. This Soviet tactic is aided by Syrian bellicosity. The Syrians like to consider themselves the fiercest Arab warriors and their morale in the present fighting remains high.

Syria has more tanks and troops ready for combat than when the October 1973 offensive against Israel was launched. It is also better equipped with planes and missiles. The Russians don't control Damascus but help it; and recently this help has been massive.

The Syrians fear a valid disengagement in Egypt may make Israel more dangerous to themselves. President Assad is thought by diplomats to hope for eventual cease-fire arrangements with Israel but, in order to survive, he has to overcome pressures for a hard line both from his own army and from the Soviet Union, pressing its anti-Sadat policy.

Iraq's Kurdish preoccupation helps ease the pressures on Assad somewhat since Baghdad cannot so easily stir up Syrian military die-hards. To survive, Assad must deliver either a military or a political victory to the Syrians. The chances that he may concentrate more on the latter, during this Kissinger visit, have conceivably been improved by the latest Kurdish outbreak.

Another external intruder in this highly volatile mess is Libya. Libya has been strongly anti-Communist and opposed to Moscow but it is now so violently anti-Sadat that it suddenly finds itself a kind of Soviet co-belligerent.

The two are increasingly backing those guerrillas (like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) who are most acutely after Assad's scalp. In Kurdistan, Libya and Iraq stand together against Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which like to see Baghdad bothered, while Algeria and Syria discreetly stick to the middle of the road. Libya, Russia and Iraq have even been inciting violent student strikes in Beirut, which has managed to stay out of the Arab wars with Israel.

This, in a worm-eaten nutshell, is the background to Kissinger's present peace-making foray in this area. Conflicts here resemble the mythical hydra; two heads spring up for each one cut off by Hercules. Right at this moment Henry Hercules may discover that even the famous cold war he had hoped was interred might have been resurrected in this region by Moscow—although he says bravely: "I can count on Soviet understanding."

## 'Read'em and Weep'

By James Reston

pected the documents on television before the Judiciary Committee had ever seen them. The Judiciary Committee did divide along party lines, as he had hoped, on whether it had to have the tapes or be satisfied with his edited transcripts of the tapes.

Vice-President Ford went to North Carolina and proclaimed that the published conversations in the White House proved the President's "innocence." And even exonerated him, even though Ford admitted that he hadn't had time to read the documents. And Sen. Barry Goldwater, who is a key and maybe even decisive figure in this moral and political tangle, flew out to Arizona in the President's plane and introduced Nixon as a "great" President.

### Meanwhile . . .

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives and members of its Judiciary Committee have a problem. The President has put them in a hard place. He has defied their subpoena for the tapes of those White House conversations. He has given them an edited version of what the tapes said. He has insisted that his lawyer, James D. St. Clair, sit in on the Judiciary Committee's investigation, but he has refused to allow the Judiciary Committee to send technicians to verify the White House tapes or lawyers and staff members to check out the accuracy of his published conversations.

So it will be interesting to see now what the members of the House and the members of its Judiciary Committee do about all this. The evidence so far is that the members of Congress even the members of the Judiciary Committee, haven't even read the record. Trying to find them since the President put out his version of the facts has not been easy. Most of them seem to have been back home, not worrying about this constitutional crisis, but campaigning for re-election.

Maybe this is what the President had in mind by his bold strategy. Don't give them everything, but give them more than

they will read. Take the issue to the people by television, and tell them you have "told all." Organize the party. Appeal to its loyalty when the party is in trouble. Put St. Clair on national television even before he goes to the Hill or the courts. It's still a political and public relations operation.

All this has been made clear to the House and Senate, and it has been working from the President's point of view fairly well. But the tapes are now public and they tell a frightening story. The public may not read them and maybe less than a tenth of the members of the Congress will read them; but the lawyers and staffs in the Congress will, and this may make quite a difference.

For the issue is now, or soon will be, what the Judiciary Committee does about all this. They have been saying privately and even on television, that the tragedy of the Watergate scandal is that there was a confusion of loyalties in the White House. The President and his staff were more loyal to one another than they were to the Constitution and to their oath of office. Now the same question is presented to the members of the House and Senate. Where will their loyalties lie? To the evidence? To the facts? To the Constitution? Or to their own re-election or party? Will they even read the conversations in the White House and the evidence on what an impeachable offense really is?

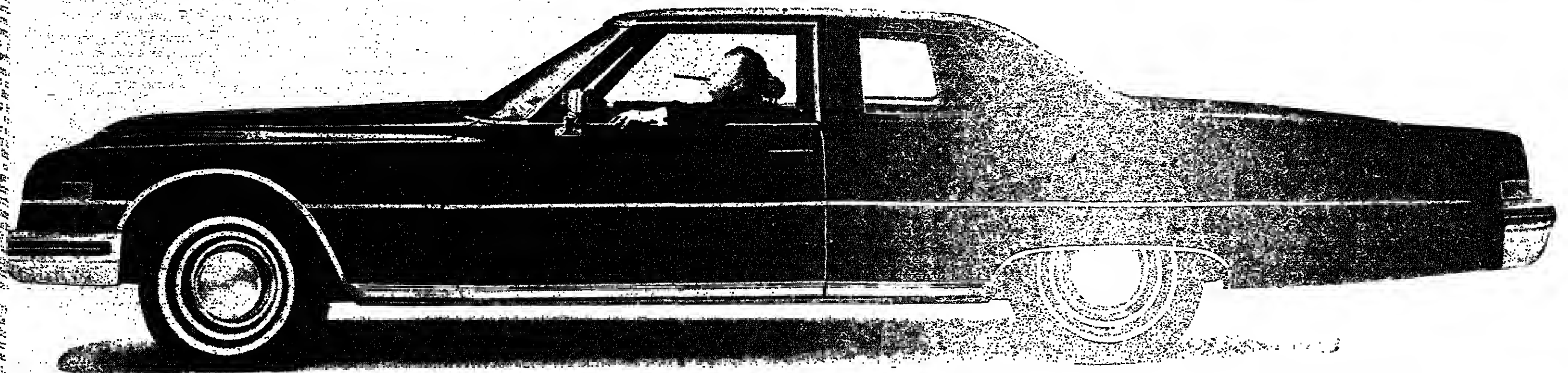
These are now the immediate threshold questions. Does the House have to prove that the President committed a crime—which is what the President and his lawyers insist—or does it merely have to demonstrate from the tapes that he undermined the integrity of his office, or disregarded his constitutional oath and duties, or abused his power and the normal process of constitutional government?

The President has now stated his case. The moral and constitutional issue—the question of loyalty and to what—is now before the Congress.

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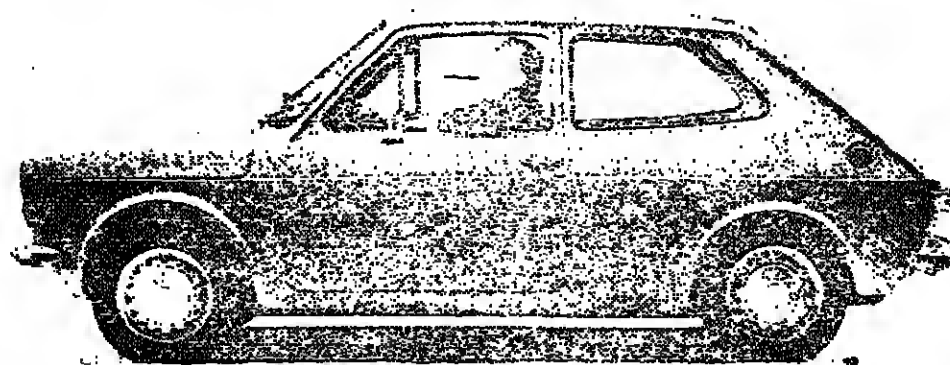
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## Moscow Takes Long View Egypt and Russia Survive Storm

By Raymond H. Anderson

NEW YORK (NYT).—At a time when the Egyptian leader, floundering politically, was searching for a solution to Cairo's "no-war, no-peace" stalemate in the conflict with Israel, a Soviet expert on Arab politics remarked during a 1972 Cairo visit: "Sadat's problem is that he doesn't have a concept of a long view of history."

Other Russians, before and since, have made even less complimentary remarks about President Anwar Sadat. And Mr. Sadat reciprocates by letting loose with blistering criticism of Soviet behavior, ideology and ambitions.

It always has been an uneasy relationship between the Soviet Union and Egypt. But the crises erupt and fade away, just as another one seems to have run its course in recent weeks.

If there is one thing that Russians are serenely—almost smugly—certain they possess, it is a long view of history and the interconnection of politics and events. In part, it is this that constrains them to look ahead to the consequences, for example, of turning over to the Egyptians offensive weaponry that could be used to strike at Israel, with the risk of igniting a general Middle East conflict that would drag in the superpowers.

Seemingly, it is the sense of history, too, that enables the Russians to endure the angry outbursts from Egyptian leaders, almost always tied to some demand for Cairo for another type of advanced weapon. Another day will come, the Russians seem to sigh.

The Middle East has long attracted the Russians, centuries before the Communists came to power in Moscow. Military security has been, remains and will continue to be the Russians' dominant concern in the region, since it spreads far and deep along southern Soviet borders. Secondary to that are goals of spreading the Marxist faith, and conventional economic and trade ambitions, including growing attention to oil.

### Arms Supplies

Since their first arms deal with Egypt in 1955, which greatly alarmed the West, the Russians have delivered weaponry valued in the billions of dollars to Egypt. They also have armed Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Sudan, the Yemens and have sold a small amount of equipment to Libya.

In economic assistance, the Soviet Union has contributed perhaps \$3 billion to major development projects like the Aswan Dam in Egypt, the Euphrates Dam in Syria, oil-field development in Iraq, and port construction, agricultural development and erection of factories in the Arab countries. The Russians also have aided in education and vocational training and in cultural fields such as ballet, folk dancing and music.

But Soviet expectations that the military, economic and cultural assistance would bring certain political and ideological benefits proved illusory or, at the least, premature.

The initial interest shown in Egypt and elsewhere in Marxist ideology has declined. Arabs now tend to see little in Soviet economics, ideology or manners that attracts them. Whenever the Russians try to extract political leverage from their arms-economic role, the Arabs raise an outcry.

Most recently, the Soviet Union, after much cajoling, armed Egypt and Syria for the assault against Israeli forces in October, delivering the most modern anti-aircraft missiles, anti-tank missiles, T-62 tanks and giving Egypt a nuclear shield to deter Israeli attacks on cities or industry. The Russians mounted an airlift during the war and evidently were ready to face the risks involved in a direct troop operation to save Egypt's trapped Third Army from annihilation.

### A Change in Attitude

Egypt's reaction, in the Russians' view, was somewhat in accord with the characterization of the people on the Nile about 600 years ago by Ibn-Khaldun, the great historian: "The Egyptians act as if they would never have to render account."

Instead of rendering account to Moscow, Mr. Sadat eagerly welcomed to Cairo U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, worked out a cease-fire agreement with the Israelis, agreed to restore diplomatic relations with the United States, accepted a limited Israeli withdrawal on the Suez front (against Russian advice), praised Mr. Kissinger as a "brother," cold-shouldered the Russians and began to condemn them in speeches and interviews.

The final indignity for the Russians was Mr. Sadat's proclaimed refusal to correct the abuses of "Arab Socialism," the late President Nasser's concept of nationalization and state control that Soviet ideologists had acclaimed. Talk in Egypt of reopening the stock market and selling to foreign investors shares in state-owned enterprises horrified the Russians.

The behavior of two Soviet "newsmen" at Aswan in January, when Mr. Kissinger was shuttling between there and Jerusalem to seek a disengagement agreement, underscored Soviet apprehensions of an American-arranged peace that would ignore the Russians.

The two Russians, never observed in the press center filing dispatches, clearly hoped that Mr. Kissinger would fail. At the moment of breakthrough in his talks with Mr. Sadat, when Mr. Kissinger passed up a waiting lunch to go immediately to Israel, the Russians reacted with glee. "The talks have collapsed, right?" they eagerly asked a Russian-speaking American. Told that, to the contrary, there had been a breakthrough, the Russians withdrew to their hotel room and went back to Cairo the same afternoon.

Tension between Cairo and Moscow followed, and the Russians demonstrated to Mr. Sadat their power to disrupt a settlement by encouraging the Syrians to harden their disengagement terms.

Mr. Sadat complained that, once again, the Russians were withholding the offensive weapons he needed to present a credible threat of going to war—if the Israelis declined further withdrawals in the Sinai.

### A Dangerous Ploy

The situation was becoming dangerous for Mr. Sadat, who must always reckon with a new surge of opposition in Egypt if he fails to achieve a full Israeli withdrawal. But, late in April, the Soviet party leader, Leonid Brezhnev, finally sent a message to the Egyptian leader vowing a Soviet desire for a Middle East settlement and pledging Soviet help to that end.

Mr. Sadat replied immediately and the polemics fell off. In his May Day speech at the industrial city of Helwan, Mr. Sadat emphasized that Egypt would retain the welfare benefits of Arab Socialism and would continue to stress the public sector of the economy—soothing words for the Russians.

The Russians also achieved a public role in arranging a Middle East settlement, with Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Mr. Kissinger agreeing in Geneva early last week to cooperate in achieving a solution.

A Middle East settlement means a reopening of the Suez Canal, already being cleared, which is a goal earnestly desired by the Russians. The canal will facilitate movement and logistics for the Soviet Union's growing Indian Ocean fleet, intended as a deterrent to missile-firing U.S. nuclear submarines.

An average of 20 Soviet ships now operate in the Indian Ocean, and about 60 in the Mediterranean. A vulnerability of Soviet military power in the Middle East is a lack of airbases. Those the Russians had gained in Egypt were lost in the 1972 expulsion of Soviet military units by Mr. Sadat.



President Idi Amin (left) and Brigadier Nyamweso, chief of the Ugandan Army.

## No Person and No Hiding Place Safe From Gen. Amin's Agents

By Dial Torgerson

KAMPALA, Uganda.—A string of cars lined up to drop off children at Nakasera Primary School in an upper-class residential area of Kampala March 6. Michael Ondoga, 34, opened the door for his son and daughter.

Then a Peugeot 504 screeched to a halt next to his car and three men jumped out. Trapped in the line of cars, Mr. Ondoga could not flee. The men pulled him out and shoved him into the Peugeot. His son tried to fight them, and one of the three men hurled him over a hedge. The car raced off.

Two days later the body of Mr. Ondoga—a former lieutenant colonel in the army, ambassador to the Soviet Union and foreign minister—was found in the Victoria Nile. It was not announced how he had died.

Fifty men of prominence have been kidnapped and killed by the secret police of Idi Amin, dictator of Uganda, since mid-1972. In Uganda, no one is safe. No place is safe.

### Nine Ministers

Nine ministers and former ministers were among those seized and killed. The chief justice was taken from his courtroom, a doctor from his surgery, a manager from his bank, an administrator from a district commissioner's office.

Most of the bodies were dumped into the churning spillway of Owens Falls Dam north of Jinja. The Victoria Nile takes them away—an object lesson in obedience—and scatters them hundreds of miles through the park-like countryside of little Uganda.

Many of the bodies are never found. Those that are frequently show signs of torture.

There are 3,000 plainclothes agents in the Uganda Army. They are everywhere in the capital of Kampala, driving recklessly and arrogantly in choice cars seized from past victims.

Others work in Nairobi, in adjoining Kenya, kidnapping Ugandan refugees and returning them to die in Kampala's Makindye Military Prison. Some of the agents are attractive young women who search for expatriates in Nairobi bars.

Gen. Amin's agents follow the refugees in Paris and London. There is no place to hide.

### Justice Grabbed

Six men, pistols out, walked into the courtroom of Chief Justice Benedict Kiwanuka, 50, at 4 p.m. Sept. 21, 1972. They grabbed Justice Kiwanuka.

Panic swept the court, and spread outside to central Kampala.

Justice Kiwanuka, a balding, plumpish man with a small mustache and bulldog chin, struggled vainly. He was dragged out and thrown into an open vehicle. As it started to roll a crowd ran alongside, shouting, "No! No!" Justice Kiwanuka raised one arm in a farewell salute.

"It was as though the world had come to an end," said a Ugandan who was there. Kampalans ran wildly through the streets, screaming, shook their fists or slumped in helpless tears until soldiers patrolling in jeeps reined them in.

The six men were identified as members of the presidential body guard resort, Justice Kiwanuka.

She was taken to Makindye. Said a spokesman meaning, in Uganda, Gen. Amin: "She will be tried according to the laws of Uganda." She was released on bail and charges were dropped last Tuesday when she pleaded guilty during a hearing.

But nothing is used less in Uganda than criminal law. Those arrested are generally turned over to the soldiers. Burglars are simply killed. At Makindye, a prisoner is forced to kill another with a sledgehammer.

It was learned, died eight days later at Makindye, after torture, from blows of a sledgehammer.

Gen. Amin, who had disagreed with the chief justice over whether civil law should take precedence over martial law, said, "Everybody should look where Kiwanuka has gone." Everybody knew.

Justice Kiwanuka and Mr. Ondoga were two of Uganda's most brilliant men. Uganda has destroyed its gifted leaders as recklessly as its wild, undisciplined soldiers, drunk on whisky and power, have burned ammunition trying to machine-gun the moon.

Gen. Amin may publicly exonerate one of his officials, fire him or call him home from overseas "to confer." It means the end is near. Followed by secret police, they cannot flee.

### Letters to Press

Joseph Mubiru, first governor of the Bank of Uganda, disagreed with Gen. Amin's policies, and he and Gen. Amin exchanged conflicting views in letters to the press. He disappeared in 1971.

Gen. Amin, a marginally educated ex-sergeant, distrusts intellectuals. In 1972, he accused Frank Kallumbe, vice-chancellor of Makerere University, of being a spy for tiny, adjoining Rwanda. Agents took him from a Kampala bar and he was sledgehammered at Makindye.

"Consult with us before making public statements of a defamatory nature against our church," said Bishop Plesio Kiwungere, Protestant clergyman in Elgool, when Gen. Amin criticized the church. He disappeared three days later. His body was found dismembered.

Called home for "briefing," George Kamba, Uganda's ambassador to India and West Germany, was abducted from a Kampala showplace, the handsome, high-rise Nile Hotel, in the trunk of a BMW.

Andrew Adimola, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Education, "was not briefing his minister properly," Gen. Amin said in February. In March, Mr. Adimola vanished.

Some officials doomed themselves by disagreeing with Gen. Amin at conferences. Others did it merely by showing the kind of ability which, in a coup, might fill the presidency. Some were in the wrong place.

### 'Sunday's Gone'

When Sunday Kibede failed to come home from work March 11, his family called friends, whispering, "Sunday's gone." One friend knew where to look: downstream of Owens Falls Dam.

He found the body in the shadows of the Victoria Nile. Vultures circled overhead.

Mr. Kibede, a business executive, was the brother of Wanume Kibede, foreign minister before Mr. Ondoga. Mr. Wanume had been one of Gen. Amin's closest advisers, and his sister, Mama Malayamu, was the first of Gen. Amin's four wives.

Amid a rash of kidnappings, Mr. Kibede, 31, defected to Nairobi in April, 1973. He is now believed to be living in London.

In March, Gen. Amin divorced Mama Malayamu, saying she was suspected of "collaborating with imperialists and Zionists." On April 10, it was announced she had been arrested at the Kenya border, trying to smuggle cloth out of the country.

She was taken to Makindye. Said a spokesman meaning, in Uganda, Gen. Amin: "She will be tried according to the laws of Uganda." She was released on bail and charges were dropped last Tuesday when she pleaded guilty during a hearing.

But nothing is used less in Uganda than criminal law. Those arrested are generally turned over to the soldiers. Burglars are simply killed. At Makindye, a prisoner is forced to kill another with a sledgehammer.

### Survivors' Smile

"He has run away to Tanzania," Ugandans tell one another, with the grim smile of survivors, when a friend disappears. Or they say, "He has been confused by the imperialists and Zionists."

These are Gen. Amin's stock explanations for a prominent man's disappearance. He sometimes exhorts all Ugandans to look for his own latest victim. Or he assigns the search to the executioner, and then praises him for so swiftly finding the body.

But Gen. Amin is right. Thousands of Ugandans have fled the bloodshed, the economic chaos and the shortages of consumer goods in Gen. Amin's Uganda.

An anti-Amin underground, Fronasa, claims more than 80,000 persons have been slain. Thousands of soldiers have died, victims of realignments of tribal rivalries that Gen. Amin uses to keep himself in power.

Government-sanctioned slaughter has infected Uganda life. Old scores have been settled by murders not connected with Aminism. Soldiers have killed civilians simply to get their cars, or over a fancied slight, or in an argument over a girl at a bar.

Ben Ochan was leaning across the bar at the Mona Lisa, a Kampala cocktail lounge, talking to a pretty barmaid, when three husky men in civilian clothes walked in.

### Amateur Boxer

Mr. Ochan was in his late 20s, a Makerere University graduate who had been amateur heavyweight champion of Uganda—as had Gen. Amin. He was assistant secretary of a government ministry in Entebbe.

He had been warned that the barmaid he liked was an army officer's girl. The men, he knew, were soldiers. He decided to walk out.

The men followed him. So did many bar patrons, and the barmaid. Mr. Ochan reached his car at the curb when the three men—one hand on pistols inside their coats—grabbed his arms. "Move!" said one, propelling him toward a Peugeot 504.

The 504 rolled away with Mr. Ochan in it. One of the men followed in Mr. Ochan's car. The patrons returned to the bar. So did the barmaid. Young Ben Ochan was never seen again.

On March 24, men of the Maitre Mechanized Regiment, running wild, went to the apartment of the army chief of staff, Gen. Hassan Malera, whom they hated.

Gen. Malera was not there. The soldiers killed his wife and five children. After Gen. Amin faced down the troops and forced them to return to their barracks, he agreed to their demands: he fired Gen. Malera.

Gen. Malera, in disgrace, suddenly alone, returned to his home in western Uganda—to wait.

"Only one sentry lost his life in the shooting," Gen. Amin said, although reports within Kampala indicated the toll was more than 500.

Radio Uganda ridiculed a British paper's report that Justice Mathew Opu of the Uganda High Court had been executed during the disturbances. Said a spokesman, in the familiar syntax: "He might have been confused by the imperialists and run away."

### Women's Ruse

Two young women gained access to a fashionable home on Nairobi's Lenana Road on a ruse, then slapped handcuffs on Justice Opu. They said they were agents of the Uganda Army.

Justice Opu, a small, taciturn man in his 50s, had slipped out of Uganda during the army upheavals and gone into hiding in Nairobi. The agents had traced him. He was hustled into a waiting truck.

Justice Opu's wife called Kenya authorities. In the past the Kenya police special branch had helped Uganda agents capture and return refugees. This time a high Kenya official ordered a roadblock on the Kampala road.

Kenya police found the justice in the trunk of a sedan, freed him, ordered the women to leave the country, and drove Justice Opu back to Nairobi. The next day the same two women were in a Nairobi bar, asking Ugandans if they knew where the justice had gone.

Justice Opu is now in hiding. Liza Gen. Malera, he is waiting, somewhere, fearing a knock on his door.

© Los Angeles Times.

## Atlantic Alliance Views

## U.S., Soviet Union and China

By Leopold Labedz

LONDON.—It is three years since Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to Peking and prepared President Nixon's visit there which was to mark the new era in Sino-American relations. Recently, he has been preparing a second visit of President Nixon to Moscow. Mr. Kissinger's peripatetic diplomacy this time caused some audible rumblings in Peking. It is quite clear that the Chinese are not very happy about the Soviet-American going-on and Mr. Kissinger's performances in Moscow, where he stressed his attachment to détente and expressed his belief that it will be "irreversible" in the Soviet-American relations. He has perhaps been tilting the balance the wrong way, to employ the expression he used in the National Security Council during the Bangladesh war.

What causes Peking's displeasure? The Chinese attitude toward détente is basically determined by the Sino-Soviet conflict.

When, after the cultural revolution, China emerged from self-imposed isolation and entered the mainstream of international political life on the level of state relations, it was the result of the perception of a genuine Sino-Soviet alliance. It was this factor which necessitated a shift in Chinese foreign policy. It brought about restoration of diplomatic relations with those countries which had recognized China before the Cultural Revolution, efforts to win recognition from other countries, entry to the United Nations and rapprochement with the United States. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev doctrine made China even more acutely sensitive about the danger of Soviet expansionism.

### Primary Motive

The shift in Chinese foreign policy has its primary motive the reduction of this danger. It led not only to a new policy toward the United States and Japan, but also to the support of the idea of a strong, united Western Europe, which would continue to tie down Soviet military forces and provide a political counterbalance to the Soviet Union on its western flank. Hence the Chinese criticism of the Soviet détente moves in Europe (Peking Review, Feb. 8, 1974).

"The Soviet Union... while making further military deployments in Eastern Europe, took pains to press for the heads of the European governments to meet before the end of last year in the third stage of the conference on European security and cooperation, so as to lay what it called a 'solid foundation' for European security and cooperation. It hoped in this way not only to consolidate its overlordship in Eastern Europe, but also to lure the vigilance of the West European countries, divide them and edge the United States out so that it could not put the whole of Europe under its sole domination...."

The Soviet leading clique has tried its best to advertise "relaxation" of the international situation. However, the reality of the stepped-up Soviet arms expansion and war preparations in Europe and its intensified contention with the United States in the Middle East have relentlessly exploded the détente myth.

### World Hegemony

While the Chinese assert that, for all their talks about détente, the two superpowers are engaged in a struggle to achieve world hegemony, the Soviet press maintains that the Chinese, in September, 1973, "modified at the 10th [party] Congress their foreign policy in such a way as to be able to use various forces, including the imperialist circles, for their struggle with the Soviet Union, the paramount obstacle on the way to Peking's hegemony" (Mekhmaradnaya Zhien, January, 1974). In their interpretation of the Cultural Revolution, Soviet analysts point out that this shift occurred at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party in Lushan in the summer of 1970.

"During this meeting the substance of the secret talks between Peking and Washington, which were already conducted for some time on the instructions of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, were first disclosed. Everything points to the fact that other Chinese leaders, including Lin Biao, were unaware of this.... The new line of Mao contradicted the resolutions of the ninth party congress (in 1969). In his speech at this congress Lin Biao... referred to the 'latest Mao directive' about the 'new historical period—the period of simultaneous struggle with the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.' Now Mao proclaimed a completely 'new stage of collaboration with the American imperialism to conduct a struggle with the Soviet Union. This new turn proved to be too sharp even for such an old hand as Lin Biao who has served so many masters" (Voprosy Istori, December, 1973).

There can be little doubt that, during the Cultural Revolution, there were important differences of attitude among the Chinese leaders about the problems of foreign policy, and that some of

This is another article of a series published in the International Herald Tribune on the problems and differences of Europe-U.S. relations. The series is being coordinated by Joseph Godson, who organized the Europe-American Conference in Amsterdam last year.

these differences persisted after it was over. But it is extremely doubtful that any Chinese leader could afford (or was inclined to take) a pro-Soviet line: the differences were about strategy and tactics.

### Internal Struggle

There is also little doubt that the U.S.-Soviet détente efforts were seen with growing distaste, if not alarm, by Peking, and that the new internal struggle which erupted after the 10th Congress, although it was basically concerned with the internal affairs, may well get entangled with the issues of foreign policy. It is not just a question of struggle for succession, but also of basic future orientation of China which is involved in the esoteric formulations of the attacks on Confucius and Lin Biao, Beihoven and Antonim. Whatever the symbolic status of the "rich harvest" sold by the Chinese production brigade to the Taoyuan production brigade in the opera "Three Ascents of Peach Mountain," it is quite certain that Chairman Mao's successors will have to face the same dilemmas as he does, and that their margin of maneuver in foreign policy will also be limited. Given its geopolitical context and the nature of the Sino-Soviet conflict, China can either have a policy of

equidistance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the United States, a policy of rapprochement with the United States, with the Soviet Union being "enemy No. 1." The Sino-Soviet rapprochement, the regular hub-and-spoke of Western analysts, is unlikely in the present state of Sino-Soviet relations and even in the post-Maoist period, although factional struggle can be seen as offering an opportunity to be exploited even by the Soviet Union.

In this situation, the U.S. cannot create irritation among Chinese leaders. They look with growing concern at the Soviet-American summit meetings, as Chou made clear in his speech at a banquet for President Jai Nyerere of Tanzania in May. They have shown their displeasure on several occasions. When Mr. Kissinger visited Peking in October, 1973, even a joint communiqué produced. Shortly afterward, heads of the respective diplomatic missions were withdrawn from Peking and Washington. The visits of Mr. Kissinger to Moscow in March caused other painful reactions on the part of the Chinese. They perceived the U.S. détente policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union as jeopardizing both European and Chinese security interests. One must ask whether it does not jeopardize also the U.S. interests, and whether it does not contradict the idea of a "peaceful world," an idea so often formulated in the Nixon doctrine.

Leopold Labedz is the editor of Survey, a quarterly journal of East and West studies, published in London.

## Young French Communists Seen Changing Rigid Party

By Nan Robertson

PARIS (NYT).—Pierre Dubois is a new member of the French Communist party. He is 24 years old, tall and handsome, with a sprightly face and winning ways. He comes from what he calls a "favored" family—upper middle-class, intelligent, sophisticated and affectionate.

He does not like what he calls "Marxist jargon—words such as 'class struggle.' He thinks the armed Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was inexcusable and finds the Soviet government's repression of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and other intellectual dissidents deplorable.

Pierre Dubois is not his name. He wishes to shield his real name because, during a three-hour interview, he wanted to tell the truth about his life and thoughts without damaging his relations with his politically conservative parents.

### Changing the Party

According to the sharpest and most impartial scholars of French Communist affairs, Mr. Dubois is representative of substantial numbers of disillusioned young former extreme leftists or socialists who are now entering the party—and changing it.

Before, almost all of them, including Mr. Dubois, were deeply suspicious of its rigidity, its "outmoded" ideas and "outmoded" leaders.

Mr. Dubois, an example of the newcomers to a party still dominated by the old regulars, has worked as a researcher, teacher, film-maker, and is now a sculptor. He is married to a woman who is a secretary and a publisher of children's magazines. They have two small children. They live for the moment on Mrs. Dubois's salary of \$340 a month, because now Mr. Dubois is toiling to the point of exhaustion on the campaign to elect the Socialist party leader, Francois Mitterrand, to the presidency of France.

Mr. Mitterrand, the sole candidate for the post of president, is supported by the Communists, who consistently deliver about 30 percent of the vote of registered French citizens, now 30.7 million.

### Teen-Agers Back Woman President

NEW YORK, May 5 (AP).—Sixty-five percent of the teen-agers polled in a new survey say they would support a woman for President of the United States.

More than 50,000 students in more than 1,200 junior and senior high schools across the country were polled by Scholastic Magazines' National Institute of Student Opinion.

Eighty percent of the girls said they would support a woman for president if she were nominated by their favorite political party and 48 percent of the boys were ready to support a woman presidential candidate.

### Jailer Changes Sides

MORGES, Switzerland, May 5 (Reuters).—Authorities here have closed down the local jail and transferred the 35 detainees to a prison at nearby Lausanne following the arrest of the jailer for helping an inmate to escape.

The party is the second large Communist party in the world after the Soviet Union. Mr. Mitterrand cannot win without it.

Is Mr. Dubois working hard? Mr. Mitterrand? He grins. "No, I'm not working hard," Mitterrand, I'm fighting for a joint program of the left. He is not to be the only person who can be elected from the left, only person who can give a program political expression to implement it once he gets in.

### Future Leaders

The Communists say that there are 60,000 young people enrolled in youth organizations, a percentage of whom could become future party leaders. Dubois is older but already in charge of propaganda for district in Paris.

Thierry Pfister, the political independent sociologist who studied and written with great acuteness about the party, is convinced that new blood and new events are indeed changing French Communism. Yet, also finds that the masses of Communist Frenchmen still identify the party with the following things:

- Money and orders from a cow.
- The threat of social upheaval.
- Stalinism.
- The power of the party's paras.

• Maurice Thorez, the first Communist party leader who followed every twist and turn of Soviet policy from the 1930s to his death in 1964.

Conversations with left-wing, middle-of-the-road and right-wing Frenchmen and women during the last year, between during election periods, like his findings.

## Greece Deports Two Arabs Held For Airport Ra

ATHENS, May 5 (AP).—Palestine convicted of a five persons and wounding others during a grenade pistol attack at Athens airport August were expelled from the country and put aboard an air bound for Libya.

Shafik Arik, 22, and I. Kantouran, 21, both Jordan born Palestinians, had been sentenced to death by a Greek court in January. The death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment Tuesday.

During the winter, two were made by Arab guerrillas win the pair's freedom by killing a German airliner, seizing a Greek ship in Pat. The attempts were believed have prompted the Greek government to free the two.

Criticism in Israel. JERUSALEM, May 5 (AP).—The release of the two was a surrender to blacklisted threats, an official government source said. "This will only increase terrorism in the future and will not be understood how the murdered innocent people at airport can be freed even if a court has sentenced the heavy terms," he said.

## Ads.

It's fun to read the ads in the Herald Tribune — for people, places, goods and services all over Europe, all over the world.

## Food.

The fine art of good eating is a favorite European pastime — and gourmet eat up the Tribune's food articles.

## Styles.



## *Can the Economists' Forecasts Be Believed?*

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, May 5 (NYT).

- was said, had not factored into  
e their economic models the new

[illegible]

order in an effort to discourage the sale.

Rams Peter Sorg, chairman of the AIBD and a deputy vice president of Swiss Bank Corp., told the meeting that a "revolutionary idea" to help overcome the current problems of the secondhand market "may be to call upon a [312] AIBD [member firms] to create some kind of a stabilization fund with the purpose of

He said, "It is easy for me to say that, if the situation does not improve, our investors risk being locked in. I think many people, including banks, have not fully realized what may happen if investors were to leave the market in masses."

The Japanese government

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 1)

There is one area, moreover, where it is clear that the economic forecasters have been consistently and uniformly wrong in recent years—their predictions of declines in short-term rates.

Instead of declining, short-term rates have barreled upward in the short-term sector, reaching the unprecedented level of 10 percent for the prime rate as well as responding records for Treasury funds, Treasury bills, certificates of deposit and other cer-

Moreover, the economic concern among investors in the oil industry is not limited to the short-term interest rate differential. The fact that the Federal Reserve has raised the discount rate to 11 percent and the federal funds rate to 12 percent indicates that the Fed is concerned about inflation. This is not surprising, considering that the Fed has been fighting inflation for some time. The Fed's concern about inflation is reflected in its recent actions to raise the discount rate and the federal funds rate. The Fed's concern about inflation is also reflected in its recent actions to raise the discount rate and the federal funds rate.

...the market's first-quarter earnings... and bargains-hunting.

Thursday by about 10.5 percent. The stock prices of prime rate

...move higher, but will rise further. Profits stagnate. Forecasts are accurate that others in the past? Doubtless, because the business is some rational, which to base the economist's ability to improve tools and to date,

NEW YORK, May 3 (NYP).—The stock market broke out of its doldrums today, with prices generally advanced in moderate trading.

Sales	Net	25 in	Net
100	100	100	100

	Sales in	Net
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Sales in	Net	Sales in
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[illegible]



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**JAPAN PACIFIC FUND S.A.**  
Société Anonyme  
Headoffice: Luxembourg, 37, rue Notre-Dame  
Trade Register: Luxembourg; B 8340

Notice of Meeting

Messrs. Shareholders are hereby convened to attend Statutory General Meeting which is going to be held on March 1974 at 15.30 o'clock at the headoffice, with the following agenda

Agenda

1. Submittal of the reports of the Board of Directors and of the Statutory Auditor.
2. Approval of the balance sheet and the profit and loss statement and allotment of the results as of March 31, 1974.
3. Discharge of the Directors and of the Statutory Auditor.
4. Receipt of and action on nomination for election of Directors and of the Statutory Auditor for a new statutory term.
5. Miscellaneous.

There is no quorum requirement for the Annual General Meeting and the resolutions will be passed at a simple majority of the shares present or represented.

The Board of Directors

Handwritten signature in Arabic script.







**By Will Weng**

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64				65			66				67			
68							69				70			
71							72				73			

ALEXANDRIA.....	15	39	Cloudy	MARSEILLE.....	12	34	Cloudy
AMSTERDAM.....	16	38	Cloudy	MILAN.....	18	42	Cloudy
BANKARA.....	17	39	Overcast	MOSCOW.....	18	43	Cloudy
BATH.....	21	41	Fair	NAGASACKI.....	26	61	Stormy
BEIRUT.....	20	48	Fair	MUNICH.....	8	47	Rain
BOMBAY.....	19	42	Cloudy	NEW YORK.....	14	37	Sunny
BREITENBURG.....	7	45	Cloudy	OSAKA.....	17	42	Cloudy
BREMSEN.....	9	48	Cloudy	OSLO.....	13	34	Overcast
CALCUTTA.....	19	41	Rain	PARIS.....	15	38	Cloudy
CAIRO.....	22	70	Fair	Peking.....	17	39	Cloudy
CANTON.....	17	62	Cloudy	ROME.....	17	39	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN.....	9	48	Cloudy	SANTO DOMINGO.....	20	47	Cloudy
DALLAS.....	25	52	Fair	SOERABAYA.....	—	3	Snow
DUBLIN.....	9	48	Fair	STOCKHOLM.....	7	43	Cloudy
DURHAM.....	9	48	Cloudy	TOKYO.....	22	42	Cloudy
EL PASO.....	14	40	Overcast	TEL AVIV.....	21	41	Overcast
HANKOW.....	9	48	Rain	TENNESSEE.....	14	37	Rain
KANSAS CITY.....	14	53	Cloudy	VIENTIANE.....	77	55	Overcast
KENTON.....	6	43	Cloudy	VIENNA.....	17	38	Cloudy
LONDON.....	16	48	Cloudy	WARSAW.....	13	43	Cloudy
LOS ANGELES.....	19	66	Cloudy	WASHINGTON.....	11	42	Cloudy
LYONS.....	16	41	Cloudy	ZURICH.....	7	38	Overcast
MANILA.....	19	41	Cloudy				

\* The "T" indicates fair weather.  
 † The "S" indicates stormy weather.  
 ‡ The "N" indicates night.

[illegible]

2015

**STREAKING...**

HERE'S JOE COOL HANGING AROUND THE DORM...

JOE COOL ALWAYS KEEPS UP WITH THE LATEST CAMPUS FADS...

AND WHAT'S THE LATEST CAMPUS FAD?

STREAKING...

OK, MEN, ....WE STAND ON THE BRINK OF A NEW SEASON ....

WE'RE GOING TO FORGET LAST YEAR'S MISTAKES AND CONCENTRATE ON THIS YEAR'S VICTORIES.

BASEBALL IS GETTING MORE LIKE POLITICS EVERY DAY.

MR. BEASLEY, IT'S ONLY NINE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING

WHY ARE YOU EATING YOUR LUNCH SO EARLY?

MY WIFE MADE ME A SARDINE SANDWICH

AND I DON'T LIKE TO CARRY IT AROUND IN A BAG TOO LONG

BEETLE HOP OVER TO THE PX AND GET ME A SIX-PACK OF...

HA! I DON'T HAVE TO! YOU OBVIOUSLY DON'T KNOW THE NEW REGULATIONS

OH, I KNOW THEM

BUT MY FIST DOESN'T

I'VE DISCOVERED A NEW PLANET!

...IT WILL BEAR MY NAME!... I'LL BE FAMED AND RENOWNED!

SUPPOSE IT BURNS OUT EARLY AND TURNS INTO A REAL DUD?

THE NAME WILL STILL BE GOOD

SEEMS I REMEMBER THE SNOW MUSEUM COIN COLLECTION IS VALUED AT 4 MILLION

YES - IF IT COULD BE SOLD ON THE OPEN MARKET.

BUT INTERPOL IS BREATHING DOWN THE THIEVES' NECKS. THEY MIGHT HAVE TO MELT IT DOWN FOR THE GOLD AND SILVER

WHAT'LL YOUR FRIEND PAY?

TWICE THE VALUE OF THE METAL CONTAINS NO QUESTIONS AS TO HOW WILL RESTORE THE COLLECTION TO THE MUSEUM

PRICE, WILL YOU ANSWER THE PHONE? I'M LEAVING NOW! SEX IS WITH A PATIENT!

WHAT'RE YOU DOING - CUTTING YOURSELF DOWN TO A TEN HOUR DAY?

WHAT'S ON? I'M GOING TO THE ICE SHOW!

WITH SOMEONE I KNOW?

I DON'T THINK SO! NIGHT!

OH, GOSH, WIGGERS, DID ABIGAIL'S FATHER HAVE TO LEAVE SO MANY DIARIES!

HE TELLS HERE OF SEEING SARAH BERNHARDT OPEN IN A PLAY. MISS HOLLY THERE'S HOLLY ONE THING TO DO...

HOLLY! WELL, THIS IS A PLEASANT SURPRISE! YOU JUST HAVE TO HELP ME!

**JUMBLE** - That scrambled word game

Scramble the four jumbles, letter to each square, in four ordinary words.

AGRY

WEL

TER

ALT

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

(Answer tomorrow)

Jessie KNOWS FIELD MORGUE TARDAM

Answer: This is not work of the mind

Answer: MAKING MONEY

**DENNIS THE MENACE**

MR. WILSON SAYS IF YOU'D GET OUTA THE SACK WHEN YOU SPOSED TO, I WOULDN'T HAVE TO BORROW BREAKFAST FROM THE NEIGHBORS.

**I**f Jack Newfield's "Cruel and Unusual Justice" is less than wholly admirable, it ought not to detract from the author's standing as a passionate and committed muckraking journalist. Mr. Newfield's brand of reporting is nowhere better exemplified than in an investigative campaign exposing corruption in the courts and prisons of New York as it unfolded in *The Village Voice* and New York magazine. And if the experience of re-reading a selection of those pieces offers little else, it at least reminds us of Mr. Newfield's accomplishment. It reminds us that he has decried the shams of our persons until his very prose has grown hoarse—that he has documented with stunning specificity their overcrookedness and inhumanity, their racism and oppression of the poor, their medical and psychiatric neglect, their failure to rehabilitate, their admission of their administrators to open doors to investigation and reform.

Reading "Cruel and Unusual Justice" reminds us Low Mr. Newfield has tried to call attention to what he sees as a corrupt, politicized judicial system—how he has detected a peculiar tendency in certain judges to go easy on repeatedly accused narcotics dealers, while handing out maximum punishments to first-time users; how he has located the causes of such odd-handed justice in the political-patronage system of judicial nomination, and how he has even named those he regards as the worst judges in his articles as "The 10 Worst Judges in New York," "The 10 Worst Judges in New York," "Judge Corso and the Mafia," "The Seven Suspicious Cases" of Justice Gerald P. Culklin of the New York County Supreme Court and "The Life and Hard Times of Judge Aaron Koopa."

And if Mr. Newfield has not always made his specific accusations stick (for whatever it's worth, a recent report by a committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on this "The 10 Worst Judges in New York" article confirmed some of his charges and credited him with performing "a service to the community," but elsewhere

accused him of "irresponsible journalism"), at the very least, he has singlehandedly raised the consciousness of the tie between politics and the judiciary and proposed some constructive reforms.

Still, effective muckraking doesn't necessarily a good book make. Aside from writing sharp and updated postscripts, Mr. Newfield has done nothing noticeable to alter the pieces from the form in which they originally appeared (he has not even bothered to add an index). And in reading them all together, one begins to notice certain defects.

They are irritatingly repetitive and, occasionally, Mr. Newfield is gratuitous: Are Attica, San Quentin and Clinton Prison Dannemora, N.Y., really comparable to Auschwitz? He's not over of a stylist either: he's still over attached to the now thoroughly hackneyed word "brutalized" and one wonders precisely what he means when he writes that on Oct. 5, 1970, inmates of the Island City Men's House of Detention were beaten "so savage" that a photographer from the New York Daily News vomited at the sight of the flowing blood and cracking bones (italics added.) And if such complaints seem preciously aesthetic in the face of such outrageous mistreatment of justice, then I can only plead that my capacity for outrage has been worn down by repetition.

Besides, one expects more from a book than from a series of articles, and in "Cruel and Unusual Justice" one doesn't get it. It is all very well to have a series of articles that reform, that would make the appointment of judges subject to review by a screening panel picked by the bar association and the Legal Aid and Fortune societies. But in a book one looks for deeper analysis. What about Lincoln Steffens's argument in "The Shame of the Cities" that reform is never enough: One needs structural changes to root out corruption? What about Jessica Mitford's theory in "Kind and Usual Punishment" that improved physical facilities and liberal rehabilitation programs may only

BARR		SBA		BAGES
OLEO		ENDL		BLOBS
OLIO		BOBB		BOBS
BANKIR		BURR		ASST
SHERA				BLEED
		ITHEE		ARAIL
ELAN		ARS		KNIOBY
GOODBY				TABLER
OWNERS		BEIR		NEAR
THEERE				ARISO
		RABBIT		ABGAS
BB		BURLE		BATH
BREAK		ABLES		LOYL
BOBBY		CAAT		AEON
SNEAR		ASIL		BLUE

Tigran Petrosian, world champion from 1963 to 1969, has been known throughout his 34-year tournament career as the most urbane, considerate ever to reach the game's summit.

Petrosianism has come to stand for carefully guarded control of positions, extraordinary flexibility and slipperiness in defense and fearfulness in the face of adventurous complexity. The only risks he ever takes are those forced upon him willingly by his opponents.

Shunning direct challenges, either on his opponent's part or on his own, his approach is that of devious manipulation. His was the voice of the infamous declaration: "Grandmasters are not gladiators."

Probably no player in tournament history has been so roundly jeered and hissed by the spectators as Petrosian for his excessively cau-

king knight's being driven back with 6 P-K6, hoping, as he did, that his 7... BxN and 8... N-QB3 would brand White's center as overextended and rickety. However, he could not have counted on Korchnof's powerful gambit 9 P-Q5, which caught Black underdeveloped and vulnerable.

It was all the more amazing, then, that he chose to make as his first and final game of his second final match with Viktor Korchnoi in Odessa, of the same defensive formation with which he went down to defeat in the first game. Unfortunately, the gladiator's gear ill fit him, for he collapsed more ingloriously than he had the first time.

He may conclude that his 3...P-QN3 and subsequent blanchetage of his queen bishop...is not worth championing, but—more likely—he will take his debacle as more evidence that he had been right all along in sidestepping dogmatic challenges.

It was Korchnoi who deviated from the first game with 5 Q-K2 in place of 5 P-Q3, which might allow Black to free his queen bishop with 5...P-Q4?; 6 P-K5, 7 Q-Q2, 8 N-QN5, KN-Q2, because 8 Q-NQXP can be met by 8...N-B3 while 8 B-B4 fails against 9...B-N5ch!

Petrosian did not mind his

Petrosian to try 14...N-B3; although 15 N-N3, P-K4; 16 Q-B3 (threatening 17 QxR), P-K5; 18 Q-KN3 recovers the gambit pawn with a vastly superior position for White.

On Korchnoi's 15 Q-R4, Petrosian probably should have tried 15...K-B2; 16 N-N5, N-B3; 17 Q-N7ch, K-N7, 18 NxQP, BxN; 19 R-R3 because White's superiority, while evident, should not have been as great as it was after 15...N-B3, which promptly dumped Black into a lost end game.

Petrosian could not play 16...B-K2, since after 17 N-N5, there would have been no defense to 18 NxPch. After the exchange of queens at moves 17-18, he put up the best defense possible, bringing his knight to its strongest square with 33...N-Q3, but he had no way to prevent the thematic break 35 P-B5!

Korchnoi's 40 P-R4 put Petrosian in zugzwang, forcing a liquidation to the king-and-pawn ending he won by the second and final zugzwang, 51 K-N5!







